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Rethinking Heterolocalism: The Case of Place-Making among Albanian-Americans

Merita Bushi

Macalester College, b.merita@gmail.com

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Rethinking Heterolocalism: The Case of Place-Making among Albanian-Americans

Merita Bushi
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Advisor: Dan Trudeau
Department of Geography
Macalester College
St. Paul, MN

Abstract

The theory of heterolocalism explores how immigrants connect to their new setting without clustering among co-ethnics. This research explores the role that Albanian-American organizations in Chicago and New York have in immigrant place-making and building a sense of community through semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The focus on institutions shifts the discourse from individual behaviors to networks. The Albanian case study is used to argue that segmented heterolocalism is more nuanced and thus describes the sociospatial behavior of immigrants in a way that resonates more closely with immigrants and incorporates their sense of community in a place.

Keywords: Assimilation, Heterolocalism, Place-making, Immigration, Albanian-American

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

As a child, I was an early and eager reader. Not only did I have a passion for delving into the world of children's book stories but on a practical level, my mom took me to the library after school every day. My parents had moved to the United States from Eastern Europe only a few years before I was born. I didn't realize it at the time but my mom's motives were not only good parenting skills, but to improve her English skills as well—to discover new words as I did. As I grew older, I couldn't help but compare the different trajectory that my parents had taken as compared to the immigrant parents of my friends. Once I was old enough to read the scholarly literature on this topic, the answer seemed simple: varying levels of assimilation.

Assimilation theory—the view that immigrants adjust to become more similar to the host society—is so embedded in the literature and in our understanding of immigration, that it is a common lens through which to study immigrants' behaviors, even for non-academics. There is also a large part of the literature that critiques the details of assimilation theory. However, I present an argument that critiques the use of assimilation theory to study immigrants and that instead focuses on the use of a theory called heterolocalism. The origin of this research stemmed from the comparison of experiences between my parents and other adults, and a gut feeling that assimilation theory just wasn't explaining my family's experience well enough, particularly because it didn't consider the community and network my family was situated in. I had the sense that assimilation theory would describe Albanian-Americans with one blanket statement, rather than considering how the community in Chicago might be different than in New York, or how individuals may not fit within a blanket statement.

Academic literature and popular culture often use assimilation theory but rarely question it, which can be limiting in understanding the experiences of immigrants more broadly. For example, because assimilation theory is often based on quantitative data measuring individual behavior, it is easy to make broad generalizations about the success of certain immigrant groups over others. By understanding immigrant groups through other theoretical lenses, we can gain more insight, such as a more nuanced understanding of the role of community and immigrant networks in fitting in to the host society. Shifting to a more nuanced understanding than what is currently accepted through assimilation can help fill in gaps in the literature that have not been investigated. In general, a paradigm shift away from assimilation renews perspectives on immigrant behavior, especially in our constantly changing society of new technologies, immigration policies, and urban patterns of settlement.

Heterolocalism, a theory coined by Zelinsky and Lee (1998), can provide that shift. Heterolocalism has recently emerged and argues that dispersal of co-ethnics may not necessarily hinder the animation of ethnic community. Thus, the theory of heterolocalism describes the sociospatial *behavior* of heterolocal immigrants, or immigrants that are dispersed geographically but maintain close ties. Heterolocalism focuses on immigrant communities rather than individuals. Thus, the shift that heterolocalism can create is a move away from expecting immigrants to change and measuring how much they change, to an examination of how immigrants connect and attempt to balance multiple worlds.

My research emerged out of an attempt to use a new lens to understand immigrant communities. In particular, I thought heterolocalism would be great to explore because it considers concepts such as space, scale, and place-identity and thus makes the study of immigration more relevant to the geography discourse, which uses a spatial focus to understand

immigration. I chose heterolocalism because although it does not have the same type of historic depth in the literature such as a concept like diaspora, it is more closely aligned with the geographical literature and is meant to reflect conditions of the late twentieth century in a broader way. In general, a spatial focus is important to consider in the study of immigrant belonging because the feelings on inclusion and exclusion that shape belonging are often created by our environment. I initially tried to explore how well heterolocalism described the sociospatial behavior of the Albanian-American communities in my case studies for this research—Chicago and New York—and what the implications of this level of heterolocalism would be. Throughout the process, I realized that this was a difficult assessment to make, in part because heterolocalism is a recent enough idea that it hasn't had decades of literature built upon it. On the other hand, it is old enough that it should better describe which communities are heterolocal and which are not. Currently this lack of description means that there are not many forms of heterolocalism described in the literature besides nodal, dynamic, or pure heterolocalism¹. Thus, given the difficulty of this assessment, my research evolved around the following research question: "How do ethnic institutions facilitate place-making within Albanian-American communities?" This examination of community formation in my case studies identified a set of themes that translated into questions to rethink heterolocalism. These themes emerged from participant observation, content analysis, and a series of thirteen interviews of Albanian-American organizations in Chicago and New York—which were communities most accessible to me. The following themes emerged from a process of matrix

¹ I will use "pure heterolocalism" to describe the theory of heterolocalism, as described by Zelinsky and Lee. When using the term "heterolocalism," this will be in reference to the phenomenon of heterolocalism as descriptive of heterolocal groups--or those immigrant communities that are dispersed but maintain ties despite the barrier of proximity.

coding: changing public image, the importance of language, regionalization of community, hierarchy effect, and community space.

Overall, I argue that heterolocalism needs to be clarified to consider more factors that might determine whether or not an immigrant group is heterolocal—or dispersed geographically but maintain close ties. I use the themes from my case studies to argue that heterolocalism can include questions such as the frequency of and type of participation in the community as well as representation and descriptions of self-identification. These are all potential considerations that would clarify what to look for when we are describing immigrant communities as heterolocal. This clarification is important because it makes heterolocalism more accessible as a descriptor of immigrant communities. I describe this new, clarified description of heterolocalism as "segmented heterolocalism" for the purposes of this thesis and my argument. I named this variation on heterolocalism "segmented heterolocalism" to tie a parallel to segmented assimilation. Segmented assimilation inspired my term because it emerged based off of the shortcomings of assimilation at the time it was coined and explores the different processes that are part of assimilation. Segmented assimilation is best known for pointing to specific barriers or aids immigrants have that determine success and thus lead to either successful or downward assimilation. Akin to this idea, segmented heterolocalism lays out a set of considerations that determine to what extent immigrants are engaged in the phenomenon of heterolocalism, specifically based on the role ethnic institutions² play in immigrant communities. To be sure, I am not arguing that with the introduction of segmented heterolocalism, the spectrum of heterolocalism will be complete. Nor am I arguing that the umbrella of heterolocalism should be

² For the purposes of this thesis, I will use the terms "institutions" and "organizations" interchangeably to refer to a variety of hubs in the immigrant community such as religious centers, ethnic businesses, and language schools.

larger solely to add new variants of heterolocalism. Instead, I am trying to preserve the meaning of heterolocalism by using segmented heterolocalism to add to the definition of heterolocalism itself. Whereas nodal heterolocalism describes a new spatial pattern based off of the original definition of heterolocalism and dynamic heterolocalism describes the idea of multiple homes, communities, and identities to maintain across a dispersed geography, segmented heterolocalism lies somewhere in between. I use segmented heterolocalism to keep the foundational definition of pure heterolocalism but describe that individuals interact with this definition differently and it is not enough to say that community ties can be maintained across geographies of dispersion. Instead, segmented heterolocalism is an attempt to "rethink heterolocalism" by describing those ties and understanding why the role of ethnic institutions may help individuals have very strong ties while other institutions may help provide those ties, but at a very minimal and superficial level. My list of considerations for rethinking heterolocalism through segmented heterolocalism is by no means definitive but rather just a start to this conversation around using and strengthening the theory of heterolocalism.

The conversation itself starts with the literature review, which establishes where the study of immigrants in the United States began and where I see it heading. Specifically, the literature review covers the three main topics of assimilation, place identity, and heterolocalism. The subsequent chapters offer background information to help ground the reader in a brief history of Albanian migration and settlement to the United States, including various waves of migration and the changing places of origin for that migration. Then, we get further into the Albanian case study by examining my methods of looking at the Chicago and New York Albanian-American organizations. Finally, my results and conclusions aim to tie all of this information together with one lasting impression and a new direction for future research on immigrants can shift its focus

from an assimilation approach to using and improving the ideas behind heterolocalism, such as this introduction of segmented heterolocalism.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

I use the literature review to situate my research question, "How do ethnic institutions facilitate place-making within their communities?", by providing an overview of relevant academic discussions of three topics: assimilation, place identity, and heterolocalism. I use assimilation as the foundation for this research project because my assumption is that ethnic institutions are formed to cultivate a shared heritage, ethnicity, or traditions. In addition, this literature review shows why it is necessary to "re-think heterolocalism" because each of the three topics builds on one another to create a more nuanced understanding of the sociospatial behavior of immigrants. In the assimilation section, I outline the following topics: transformation in thinking about assimilation and integration into the host society, critiques both past and present, and variables in assimilation to consider. I use the section on place identity to set the scene by providing an explanation of related ideas such as place-making and a sense of belonging. I link these concepts to the landscape, in order to provide a spatial connection. Then, I build upon the changing spatiality of place identity by introducing the idea of transnationalism and the implications this concept has for migrants. Both assimilation and transnationalism complement and contrast one another and feed into the most recently coined idea, heterolocalism. The heterolocalism section focuses on networks of ethnicity and questions the association between strength of the network and physical proximity. Thus, the reason I focus on these three areas of literature and in this particular order is assimilation lays the groundwork for other theories such as heterolocalism and place identity adds a spatial dimension to settlement behaviors. It would not suffice to focus solely on assimilation theory because then the spatial context that immigrants find themselves in is not emphasized as prominently. Similarly, the section on place identity

delves into transnationalism because it introduces the idea of the ties to the homeland that immigrants retain while they are trying to identify with their new homes. Finally, if assimilation theory explains the "what" of immigrants' behaviors, and place identity explains the "to what extent" in terms of connection to a place, then the theory of heterolocalism completes the picture by explaining how the previous two bodies of literature are bridged together. Heterolocalism places the individual immigrant or family unit of analysis within a larger network where immigrants' sociospatial behavior can be understood not only in terms of adjustment to the host society and connection to place, but functioning within the immigrant community and the beginning of an answer as to why co-ethnics in different cities or regions have different experiences adjusting. In order to "re-think heterolocalism" by broadening its definition, this literature review provides the history, evolution, and critiques of the three topics to understand why heterolocalism needs to have a clarified definition.

A. Assimilation

i. Origins of assimilation studies

Over the years, the United States has remained a prime destination for immigrants. As early as the 1900s, theories began to emerge describing the assimilation process. In the late 1960s, Robert Park, an urban sociologist, saw assimilation as a way for immigrants to "break free" from ethnic attachments (Nagel 2009). Together with Ernest Burgess, Park theorized assimilation as a four-step process whereby individuals or groups engaged in competition that resulted in accommodation and assimilation (Park and Ernest 1921). The first two stages were cultural and structural assimilation, both of which were defined by incorporation into a common cultural life with equal participation in social institutions across different ethnicities.

This theory was expanded by Milton Gordon (1964), who argued instead that there were seven stages in the process that immigrants went through with sequential steps. In that sense, immigrants could be stuck at a stage indefinitely because latter stages were dependent on the previous ones. The first two steps—cultural and structural assimilation—were seen as the easiest steps, although English language skills and formal education are important prerequisites to succeeding in these stages. The next stages included large-scale intermarriage (marital assimilation), development of sense of people-hood based exclusively on host society (identification assimilation), absence of prejudice (attitude receptional assimilation), absence of discrimination (behavior receptional assimilation), and absence of value and power conflict (civic assimilation). Interestingly, Gordon made a distinction between acculturation—"the adjustment of outward cultural behaviors"—and structural assimilation—"the entrance of the minority group into the social cliques, clubs, and institutions of the core society." While the former is something he saw all immigrants inevitably encountering, the latter may not be a stage that everyone reached. However, he said that once structural assimilation is completed, the other five stages more easily follow (Gordon 1964).

Modern research on immigrant settlement patterns remains heavily influenced by these theories, as many empirical studies have confirmed (Alba et al. 1997). Part of the reason that multidimensional theories such as Gordon's are still used today is because they allow for an empirical measure of the extent to which certain groups are assimilated. In fact, more than four decades after Gordon published his theory, the model is still being used by scholars today to fine-tune measurements of assimilation. For example, Alba and Nee (1997; 2003) use Gordon's assimilation theory as the basis for their argument in which they redefine assimilation. For Alba and Nee, assimilation is conceptualized as a process instead of an end goal. However, they

incorporate Gordon's stages into their four dimensions of assimilation: acculturation (measured mainly with English proficiency), socioeconomic achievement (i.e. income, occupation, homeownership), residential integration (i.e. diversity of the neighborhoods and concentration of co-ethnics), and social integration (i.e. civic and social participation, intermarriage).

Gordon's theory is not the only framework that has carried on into modern assimilation studies. The Chicago School's ecological perspective was also used as the basis for Douglas Massey's (1985) model of spatial assimilation, which is widely accepted today. The Chicago School conceptualized cities developing in homogeneous concentric zones (as a result of competition for space), with the expectation that new ethnic groups were to first reside in "zones-in transition" and then work their way up to better districts with improved socio-economic situations (Park and Ernest 1921). Through his model of spatial assimilation, Massey argued that the location where residents reside reflects their levels of acculturation and socioeconomic mobility; therefore, he posits that immigrants logically move away from ethnic enclaves in a more dispersed pattern of settlement (Massey 1985). Therefore, upward residential mobility is considered a sign of successful spatial assimilation. The premise of spatial assimilation is that immigrants come to the United States and tend to move into the inner city or settle within ethnic enclaves established by their predecessors because of employment, language, and cultural barriers. With a support network and improved language skills, the barriers to residential choice become less of an issue over time. This then allows immigrants to move away to neighborhoods with better amenities next to the majority—often white—population, where home ownership is more feasible. This means that residential/spatial assimilation facilitates cultural assimilation because a new environment will help speed up components of cultural assimilation. This non-sequential interplay between different types of assimilation is a slight deviation from earlier

theories such as Gordon's. Another important point that Massey calls attention to is that spatial assimilation works under assumptions of individual-level decisions but is ultimately contingent on the larger context in which the urban area is situated, such as the housing layout and industry makeup of the city (Massey 1985).

The subtle shifts in assimilation theory are characteristic of the literature as a whole. The Chicago School promoted the classic view of assimilation theory, which characterized immigrants as following a "straight-line" path that led them to have similar values and behaviors to the host majority over time (Warner and Srole 1945; Sandberg and Gans 1974). This means that immigrants who have been in the host country longer, as well as later generations, are more "assimilated" into the host society. On the other hand, the racial/ethnic disadvantage model shifts the responsibility away from immigrants towards structural barriers. Specifically, theorists who follow this model, such as Nathan Glazer (1993) argue that assimilation may not be possible even with increased language and cultural familiarity because of barriers such as discrimination.

In 1993, these two models were brought together under a framework called segmented assimilation (Portes and Zhou 1993). Segmented assimilation (also known as "bumpy-line assimilation" because of the varied paths it can take) looks at assimilation as a path that is easier for those with human capital, more difficult for those facing poverty and/or racialization, and is selective for other immigrants. Specifically, certain barriers or aids can determine success, thus leading to either successful or downward assimilation. In essence, segmented assimilation reshaped the idea of assimilation by bringing into the conversation a focus on institutional roles and ethnic identification, differential success between ethnic groups, and an examination of the second generation—or the children of immigrants. Segmented assimilation is seen by some as a "return of assimilation" with a subtle change in perspective (Brubaker 2001). In particular, this

change in perspective is most easily seen in the shift of vocabulary—from assimilation to integration—and focus on multiple reference populations as Rogers Brubaker (2001) mentions when comparing the public discourse and policy in France and Germany.

Thus far, the transition in thinking about assimilation has gone from a static, sequential, and uniform view of assimilation to a dynamic interplay that considers contextual and structural factors affecting inter- and intra- generations of immigrants differently. This is not to say that the shift in thinking has happened across the board. There are theorists today who draw their models from ideas throughout history and find some are still applicable to immigrants today (Alba and Nee 1997). To complicate the picture further, various disciplines have their own distinctions, from varying definitions to critiques of models.

When geographers entered the conversation, they gave special consideration to differences between immigrant groups, arrival cohorts, and the distinction between household and individual level analysis. In addition, examining the particularities of urban spaces and their labor markets is of interest to geographers (Allen and Turner 1996; Haverluk 1998; Clark 2003; Pamuk 2004; Wright and Ellis 2000a). This can take the form of examining aspects of Massey's spatial assimilation model or more broadly looking at clustering, unevenness, exposure, concentration, centralization, or other similar summary indices used in empirical research (Duncan and Duncan 1955; Massey and Denton 1989; 1988).

One subject which these indices examine is ethnic enclaves. Similar to assimilation, some frame ethnic enclaves as a controversial phenomenon, referring to the debate of whether these processes are formed through forced or voluntary means. Mark Abrahamson (1996) refers to enclaves as geographic defined spaces that contain 1) concentrations of residents who share an identity, 2) specialized stores and institutions that provide local support for the residents'

distinctive lifestyle, and 3) a strong tie between that life-style and the geographic space the residents occupy. Massey (1999) characterizes enclaves specifically to immigrants by describing them as places of clustering that enable social networks to form where resources and knowledge can be exchanged to help improve individual economic mobility. This description uses the idea of chain migration to insinuate a voluntary choice in settlement in ethnic enclaves. Chain migration is the process by which immigrants choose to settle in a particular location based on family or co-ethnics who have already established themselves there. Often, this concentration can create an ethnic-enclave economy, an idea first explored by Wilson and Portes (1980). Ethnic enclave economies can be beneficial because 1) the close proximity provides an ethnic consumer base that is supportive to the creation and continuation of businesses and 2) they create job opportunities that may not require English language skills for co-ethnics. Other benefits of ethnic enclaves more broadly include a sense of belonging for immigrants who see these ethnic places as representations of home because of social, cultural, or emotional associations. Oftentimes, such a concentration allows community to be formed through ethnic institutions (connectors for the community), ethnic arenas (places frequented but lacking a permanent ethnic marker), ethnic sociocommerscapes (businesses that have sociocultural functions in addition to commercial ones), and intangible ethnic places (internet, radio, or TV sites) (Chacko 2003).

However, some authors have been wary of the significance of ethnic enclaves in the assimilation process, examining both their disadvantages and the extent to which they are formed voluntarily. For example, Wei Li (2009) differentiates ethnic enclaves from ethnoburbs by defining the first as a more homogenous concentration of low-income or low-skilled immigrants with limited mobility as compared to the mixed economic status found in ethnoburbs. Potential pitfalls of ethnic enclaves and enclave economies include limiting immigrant growth and upward

mobility, creating isolation, and delaying language and cultural skill attainment, which may inhibit integration into the host society. Another disadvantage is that the amenities that come with a concentration of culturally specific stores may also carry the cost of poor neighborhood quality. While some stress the voluntary nature of contemporary enclaves (Bridge and Watson 2000) others point out constraints on locational decisions such as limited financial resources, employment locations, and sometimes the practice of redlining or white flight (Simpson 2004). When allowing for these constraints, the concern becomes the growing similarity ethnic enclaves and ethnic ghettos. In essence, the distinction between forced or voluntary sheds light on how much of a role ethnic enclaves play in the assimilation process. The difficulty is in really understanding individual motivations to live within an enclave—as all individuals and enclaves are different.

Part of the importance of understanding an individual's motivations is that motivations can represent their commitment to the ethnic community, which may be an important factor in determining success. Individual motivations to be a part of an ethnic enclave may be tied to their motivations to migrate in the first place. For example a professional or entrepreneur might choose to migrate for economic purposes and may want to branch out from the ethnic community while a refugee may find that support essential in their transition. The success and growth of ethnic enclave economies is based on 1) the size and population of the enclave 2) the level of entrepreneurial skills within the enclave and 3) the availability of capital resources to the enclave (Portes 1995). Once self-sufficiency is achieved, enclaves are considered "institutionally complete." Breton (1964) uses the idea of "institutional completeness" to distinguish the degree of community development. While few ethnic communities exhibit the extreme of institutional completeness, it can nonetheless be used as framework by which to assess the goal of community

development and cohesion. In addition, institutional completeness can be used in conjunction with other markers of significant places and traditions in the neighborhood within the framework. Irene Bloemraad (2006) expands on this idea by exploring the social nature of political incorporation through a framework of structured mobilization. Bloemraad focuses on looking at the role through the lens of political and civic assimilation. The role of institutions is often to aid in varied aspects of assimilation. The means and extent of that aid is the focus of this research thesis in order to understand the role ethnic institutions play in their communities.

Thus far in this section, I have covered the path of assimilation theories from their conception to modern day. I chronicled the transformation of thinking about assimilation in large part temporally but also added a disciplinary explanation, primarily in the discussion of the topic of ethnic enclaves. Ethnic enclaves are formed for a variety of reasons and serve a multitude of purposes. Much research has gone into exploring how institutions and the establishment of an ethnic community can aid with political incorporation, but through this research thesis I aim to explore implications broader than political incorporation and beyond ethnic enclaves. In the next section, I explore the literature on the theory of heterolocalism and other critiques of assimilation theories mentioned in this section.

ii. Critiques of Assimilation Theory

Critiques of assimilation theory are generated because of the images the term invokes of forced conformity, one-way change rather than the host society being affected, the zero-sum perception of completely abandoning the minority culture for the host society's ideals, the ideal end goal of homogeneity and a white, middle-class norm, the idea that the type and speed of assimilation is uniform across different immigration groups and generations, and the under theorizing beyond the first generation (although this has changed with recent research). This

explains the emergence of the term "integration," which entails dedication and/or participation within the host society without the same expectations regarding cultural change (Nagel and Staeheli 2008).

Much of assimilation theory relies to some extent on an assumption of spatial clustering of immigrants. A major critique is that these theories are outdated and not flexible enough to accommodate for modern immigrants (Betancur 1996; South, Crowder, and Chavez 2005). Since the 19th and 20th centuries, urban centers have grown tremendously and many jobs have gone to the suburbs and rural areas. Improved roads, transportation, and communication mean that some benefits of residential concentration do not in fact require clustered settlement. In addition, changes in technology and educational attainment mean that many immigrants come to the United States with English skills and sometimes more wealth than in the past. This also means that immigrants do not have to start in the "zones-in-transition," which is depicted in Figure 1's illustration of the Chicago School's ecological model (Park, Burgess, and McKenzie 1967).

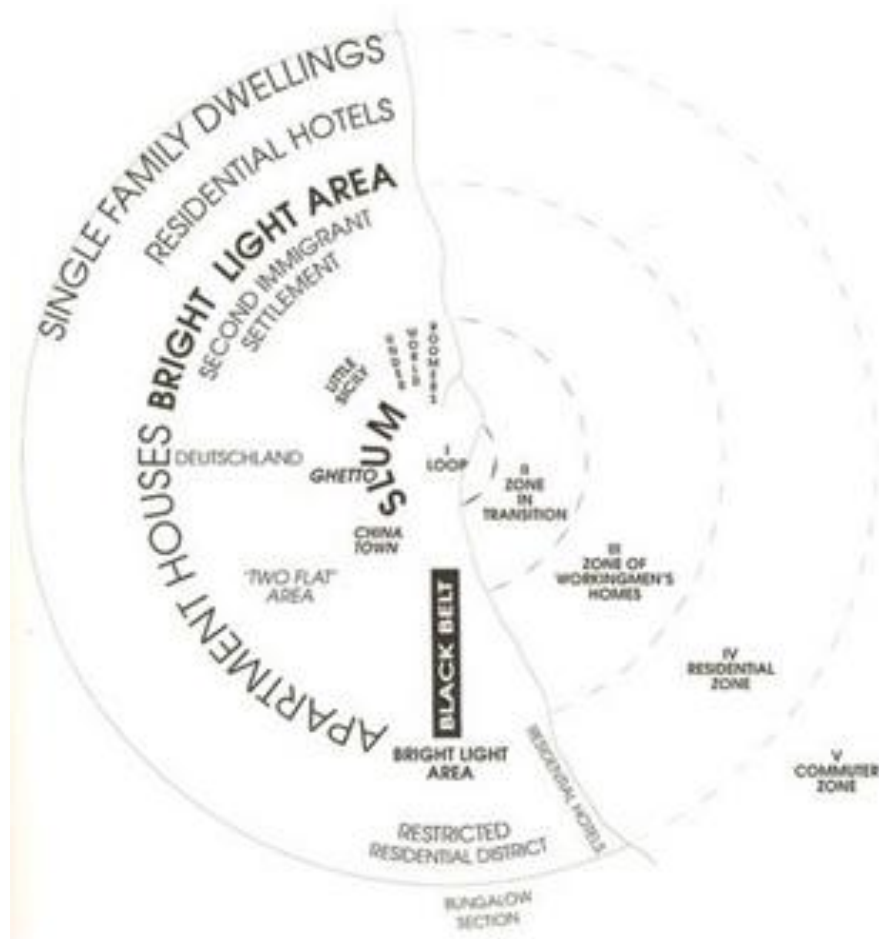


Figure 1- Zone II: The "Zone in Transition"
(Park, Burgess, and McKenzie 1967)

Sometimes, the suburbs are the initial settlement area for immigrants. In fact, recent times have seen the emergence of suburban ethnic concentrations as well as greater diversity of immigrants in suburbs (Alba et al. 1995; Iceland 2004; Li and Johnston 2008). This is most recently described by the term "ethnoburb," coined by Wei Li (2009) and described earlier. On the other hand, previous assumptions that a longer length of residency in the United States influences residential assimilation have actually been shown to be a weak correlation (White 1988; Alba and Logan 1991). In other words, the spatial assimilation model needs to be re-evaluated to take into account current factors.

Zelinsky and Lee have attempted part of this re-evaluation through their theory of heterolocalism, a phenomenon whereby ethnic communities are maintained by methods such as telecommunications and visits, despite lack of spatial agglomeration (1998). Zelinsky and Lee point out that one attribute of heterolocalism is the separation of residence and site of social activity. Therefore, places that maintain social activity may potentially serve as a method to maintain the ties within ethnic communities. Heterolocalism offers critique unlike the others because it is not framed as a complete alternative to the previous assimilation models, but rather a partial replacement of the older two in order to capture new realities immigrants face, and a third model (next to assimilation and pluralism), which may be more applicable to some immigrant groups. The idea of heterolocalism as a partial replacement is important to understanding the importance of "rethinking heterolocalism." I discuss heterolocalism more in depth in a later section.

Another critique is that of cultural pluralism, the idea that ethnic groups retain their unique cultural traditions in a self-sustaining matter, creating a salad bowl instead of a melting pot. Some make the distinction that multiculturalism is the idea that there is no dominant culture, while others use it interchangeably with cultural pluralism. Horace Kallen (1915) and Randolph Bourne (1916) were a part of the early conceptualizations of cultural pluralism in the 1900s. While the intent was to create a more integrated society by embracing difference, some saw cultural pluralism as an attempt to create a segregated society. Cultural pluralism failed to gain acceptance in the United States with the exception of a brief revival in the 1970s (Zelinsky 2001). Today cultural pluralism is employed through theory and policy primarily outside of the United States.

It is interesting to consider the implications of cultural pluralism and what value it might add if it was more accepted in the United States. Through cultural pluralism, ethnic groups retain components of their ethnicity while simultaneously being accepted into society. This means that institutions can more readily operate in a manner that retains ethnic cohesion in this new place. This sense of place-making is particularly developed in the case of education. In societies that lean towards multicultural policies, bilingual education is provided in a different manner. The main difference is that in the United States bilingual education, especially outside of the majority minority groups, is provided through institutions of the immigrant communities, while in Canada and Western Europe, public institutions more often provide these forums.

These differences in policies relate to Portes' model of incorporation of immigrants, which is an important framework to use to understand the different experiences and paths of assimilation for various immigrant groups. Portes (1994) points out that assimilation does not guarantee equal opportunities but rather brings into account issues of discrimination and unequal achievement. Different levels of success can be seen as hinging on three main factors: the nature of immigration (voluntary or forced), endowed resources (such as human capital, savings, etc), and host country reception (through immigration and labor policies as well as ethnic community and solidarity). An earlier conception looks at government policy (receptive, indifferent, or hostile), societal reception (prejudiced or non-prejudiced), and the co-ethnic community (weak or strong) (Portes and Rumbaut 1990). The nature of immigration and governmental policy tend to run parallel. For example, refugees almost always face receptive policies, especially because of the forced migration. The comparison of endowed resources and co-ethnic community assumes that ethnic identities are immutable, a static view proposed through cultural pluralism as well (Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Glick-Schiller 1997). The assumption of

immutability underscores the role of institutions today in helping immigrants change their endowed resources through opportunities such as job training, language classes, etc. In addition, new waves of immigrants joining an established co-ethnic community may have different motivations for migrating and thus may change the attitude of the community as a whole. One example is refugees joining previous economic migrants and subsequently producing an ethnic solidarity under the common solidarity from the community in reaction a war (if refugees fled for this reason). Also, a simple "weak" or "strong" designation for a co-ethnic community by using population size as a proxy is not sufficient. Instead, the particular components that add cohesion to a community should be taken into account when deciding on the strength of the community. Finally, it is unclear if the weak/strong designation is one determined by an outsider or insider perspective. Similarly, societal reception assesses incorporation on a broad spectrum as well—prejudiced or non-prejudiced. This fails to take into account differing perspectives and more importantly, is vague on whether this is a measure of initial reception or long-term reception. Overall, the models of incorporation can be improved upon with more specificity and attention to the changing nature of immigrants as a whole as well as immigrant groups and individuals. Still, pieces of this model are useful in understanding immigrant groups' paths of assimilation and therefore understanding what the ethnic community needs (i.e. what ethnic institutions should aim to provide) in order to successfully incorporate into society.

Until now, I have explored general critiques of assimilation theories over time. Some theories—such as heterolocalism and cultural pluralism—have emerged in response to these critiques, but have not necessarily been embraced in the literature as much as assimilation. I also covered different models of incorporation that help better understand why different immigrant groups have different assimilation styles and needs. Within these models, one critique was the

different perception of these categorizations from the immigrants themselves versus the outsider perspective. The next section further develops this critique by looking at frameworks that do take this difference into account.

iii. Variables in assimilation

The constructionist approach focuses on understanding how ethnic and racial identities are built, rebuilt, and taken apart over time. This focus on the changing nature of identities can help to illuminate the factors that cause that change and subsequently assimilation. Identities can be categorized into four quadrants, as shown in Figure 2 (Cornell and Hartmann 2007). One axis ranges from thick identity (one that comprehensively organizes social life) to thin identity (minimal impact on social life) and another axis ranges from assigned identity (ascribed by outsiders or circumstances) to asserted identity (claimed by ethnic or racial groups). Utilizing this framework yields similar results to the models of incorporation framework in understanding the different expressions specific immigrant groups display. Specifically, this constructionist approach describes the process of being placed along these axes as determined by three types of bonds: shared interests, shared institutions, and shared culture (Cornell and Hartmann 2007).

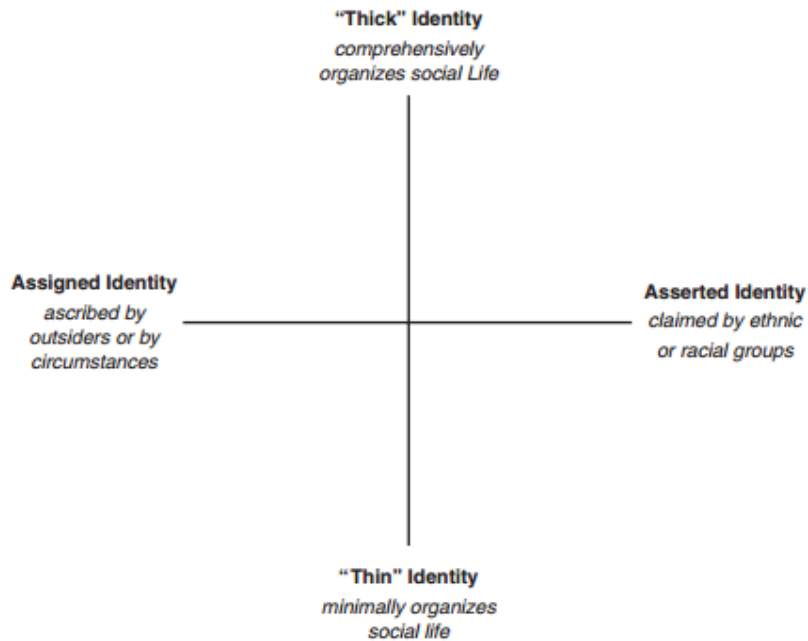


Figure 2- The constructionist approach: Two axes of variation in ethnic/racial identity (Cornell and Hartmann 2007)

These particular bonds are important to understand how individuals express themselves and belong within a place. The bonds also have implications for the first through second generation. Each generation, both at a group and individual level, have different ways of plotting their identities. However, these bonds can help create some stability. Of particular interest is the idea of shared institutions because this is the most tangible of the three that is likely to carry over generations. This stability over generations will be important to remember during the analysis chapter where the Albanian-American community is examined. Alba and Nee (2003) incorporate processes for ethnic stability and change in their definition of assimilation. Specifically, they talk about assimilation occurring by using the idea of boundary crossing, shifting, and blurring. Boundary crossing is classical assimilation, where the individual moves from one group to the other without changing the boundary. Boundary shifting is analogous to segmented assimilation because assimilation is subject to societal reception. Therefore the boundary is shifted by society

or policy (such as the change in U.S. Census definitions), causing groups to have a new identity assigned rather than asserted. Finally, boundary blurring is an ambiguity of where the border lies in relation to the individuals. This is because the boundary is porous, and individuals don't feel the stress to either incorporate into the mainstream or heavily embrace cultural identities, thus allowing for two-sided change. Institutions can play a role in determining which boundary typology is employed or has the most impact.

This section has added another framework to help understand the different outcomes of immigrants in modern day. The next section builds upon this by exploring the meaning of place identity, another area which institutions can be crucial in creating. The next section also looks at the transformation of transnationalism and its relevance today.

B. Place Identity

This section starts with a discussion of place-making and a sense of belonging. Essentially these are created through boundaries—both physical and social in nature. These boundaries create a sense of inclusion and exclusion, which is important to keep in mind when examining the operation of ethnic institutions. The other topic within this section is transnationalism, which can even be thought of as heterolocalism at the international scale. Transnationalism is important to the discussion of place identity because it considers place attachment to the homeland while immigrants are physically in the home country. Ethnic institutions often embrace transnationalism and bring aspects of the homeland into the settings that they occupy.

i. Place-making and a sense of belonging

In the previous section, the discussion focused on incorporation into the host society. It is important to add that underlying those decisions about changing behaviors and values lies a

parallel examination of the change in space and home. The connection between place attachment or place-making and space can be understood by Relph's (1976) definition of place attachment as, "the authentic and emotional bond with an environment that satisfies a fundamental human need" among other definitions that define place attachment as mainly a social phenomenon (Scannell and Gifford 2010).

When settling into a new home, a transformation of the landscape is created through the meanings newcomers associate with the space. A landscape can be a visual tool to understand social relationships within a particular space (Cosgrove 1985). However, discussions about the process of transforming the landscape do not always take into account the relevance of boundaries and belonging. A sense of belonging not only invokes feelings of inclusion in places that are "home" but it also designates a sense of exclusion towards places to which one does not clearly belong (Trudeau 2006). Thus, by defining spaces of inclusion and exclusion throughout the landscape, both spatial and social boundaries are created (Cresswell and Sibley 1997). This is particularly important to keep in mind when considering ideas such as ethnic enclaves and ethnic institutions because these are places where inclusion is crucial as we say with the social reception within the model of incorporation and the identity formation of the constructionist approach. Basically, creating a sense of belonging may be an ethnic institution's clearest and most difficult roles.

When a particular space is defined by the presence of a certain population, as in enclaves, identity formation can occur. Stuart Hall (2003) theorizes two ways of reflecting on cultural identity. One is the idea of a collective, shared, and fixed identity within the group. The other way to look at cultural identity is as a matter of becoming, which assumes that the cultural identity does not already exist but rather is dynamic. Some theorists tend to prefer the second

sense of cultural identity. Specifically, Clifford (1997) began this trend by describing cultural identities with the homophones "roots" and "routes". Clifford contends that routes, or the process by which cultural identity has been formed, is more important to explore than roots, or the origins of peoples. This contention is pertinent to immigrant populations because when they first arrive into a host society, there is a negotiation that takes place between roots and routes.

Part of the negotiation is determined by the definition of home, because this has implications for how transnational (forming relationships which transcend national borders) these migrants are, as is discussed in the next section. Oftentimes home invokes a sense of belonging. To take one step back, John Eyles (1985) describes ten senses of place, including social, apathetic-acquiescent, instrumental (place as a means to an end), nostalgic, family, and roots. These are relevant to immigrants because if one sense of place is more dominant than another, it may have implications for assimilation, an overall sense of belonging and inclusion, or may even influence the type of cultural identity formation. For example, if the sense of social place is more dominant than the sense of roots space, then assimilation may be easier for an individual because they are able to value access to the social space over the roots. There is also an implication for assimilation progress based on whether or not migrants categorize their new setting as "home."

Definitions of home range from purely physical spaces to social places, or can be a mixture of the two. Definitions of home are often associated with family, community, or homeland/nation. One conceptualization is home as a place where tradition and culture is recreated, often with specific groups such as family or community members. To continue looking at whom home is created with and by, we turn to Brah (1996), who describes home as part of a subjective experience that creates processes of inclusion and/or exclusion (at personal and political levels). This is interesting because often a sense of belonging is identified by the act

of exclusion. Feelings of "non-home" or unfamiliarity are important to identify in the definition of home in order to better understand belonging and identity (Al-Ali and Koser 2002). The question of who creates a sense of belonging is more complicated. Responsibility for creating a sense of belonging may be based on the type of reception immigrants receive, as discussed in the previous section, or may be something that ethnic institutions can play a role in creating. What is more complex is that home is not necessarily always static. The dynamic nature of home can be related to the changing forms of identity, as briefly mentioned before, or due to changing racial or ethnic dynamics in the host society. Home can also be a moveable concept, or "pluri-local" (Rouse 1991). This is best suited for migrants who are highly mobile, have moved recently, or are considered "transnational."

ii. Transnationalism

Broadly speaking, transnationalism is an umbrella term that encompasses the linkages that bring together people and institutions while transcending national borders. Of course this broad view can be dangerous because the term may become over-used to apply to a variety of groups and activities. Overall, conceptualizations of transnationalism can be categorized into three main definitions: a limbo-like state of being, transnational practices, and transnational spaces and processes. All of these definitions have different implications for identity.

When the literature on transnationalism (concerning immigrants) first emerged in the 1990s, academics saw it at odds with integration and assimilation. By living "in between" borders, transnational migrants were almost seen as having more barriers to assimilation (Smith 1994). However, academics soon saw how transnationalism and integration could co-exist with participation in multiple spheres. The description of settlement then shifted to a discourse that

agreed it was possible for migrants to participate in social, economic, political, and cultural activities across borders while still settling into the fabric of the host society (Basch, Glick-Schiller, and Szanton-Blanc 1994; Faist 2000; Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Smith and Guarnizo 1998; Itzigsohn 2000; Jacoby 2004; Kivisto 2001; Portes and Rumbaut 1990).

Even with the relative agreement on the simultaneity of transnationalism and assimilation, there was still no clear answer on what the relationship between the two processes was. Glick-Schiller et al. (1992; 1997) conceptualized the relationship by viewing transnationalism as a new mode of incorporation. The main reason for this was because they saw differences in new immigrant communities that weren't captured completely by previous theories such as assimilation and cultural pluralism. Their definition saw transnationalism as "the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (Glick-Schiller 1997; 1992) This definition points to a key distinction: transnationalism is mainly defined by social relations rather than cultural flows. The emphasis on social relations relates back to the sense of belonging discussed earlier because of the social construction implicit in belonging through processes of inclusion and exclusion. Thus, transnationalism in the way Glick-Schiller et al. saw it was a way of belonging within the host country without necessarily having to follow assimilation processes because "home" was imagined more broadly. This is similar to Muhammad Anwar's (1979) assertion that transnationalism allows migrants to escape the limbo-like, either-or trap between assimilation or nostalgia and the "myth of return."

Portes et al. (2001) aimed to narrow the broad definition provided by Glick-Schiller to include only activities that "involve continuity of social relationships across national borders

over time," or in other words, sustained transnational practices. They also distinguished three types of transnationalism: economic, political, and sociocultural. Economic transnationalism involves entrepreneurs who are mobile with their business not labor migrants. Political transnationalism involves political activities and influence across borders. Finally, sociocultural transnationalism is "oriented towards the reinforcement of a national identity abroad or the collective enjoyment of cultural events and goods." Portes et al (2001) limit the number of migrants whose activities can fit into the transnational framework by suggesting those with high social capital, access to technological advances, and close proximity to the homeland are more likely to engage in transnationalism. Thus, this definition of transnationalism was focused mostly on practices as a characterization of the phenomena.

Another take on transnationalism comes from Faist (2000) who uses the idea of transnational social spaces, or the combination of two or more places into a singular new space. This space involves "the circulation of ideas, symbols, and material cultures." Unlike Glick-Schiller, Faist sees transnationalism as a supplement not alternative to assimilation and pluralism. Another distinction is Faist's emphasis on communities, institutions, and groups. Specifically, Faist identified three types of social spaces: 1) Kinship groups, which require reciprocity (ex. remittances), 2) Transnational circuits, which require instrumental exchange ties (ex. trading networks), and 3) Transnational communities, which require solidarity stemming from a shared idea of identity. Faist wrote that transnational communities require a "link through exchange, reciprocity, and solidarity to achieve a high degree of social cohesion, and a common repertoire of symbolic and collective representation" (Faist 2000). In other words, the "routes" characterization of collective and dynamic identity formation will create cohesion that enables transnational communities. Faist also brings up the point of these spaces potentially lasting past

the first generation if they are strong enough. What Faist does not mention is the role of organizations in sustaining a level of cohesion once it is reached by individuals in these transnational communities.

Considering the role of organizations places a structural component on transnationalism and brings up the distinction between transnationalism from above versus below. Transnationalism from above is concerned with macroeconomic processes that are not anchored in territories while transnationalism from below looks across two or more nation-states with a micro-level focus on the actions of people (Smith and Guarnizo 1998). Faist differs from Portes and Glick-Schiller in that he leans towards transnationalism from above while Portes and Glick-Schiller lean towards transnationalism from below. The significance of this observation is the unit of analysis, which determines whether transnationalism is investigated by the action of individuals or by the action of organizations and networks.

Another scholar leaning towards transnationalism from below is Manuel Orozco (2011) who details five transnational migration patterns known as the five T's: 1) money transfers, or remittances, 2) tourism, 3) transportation, 4) telecommunication, and 5) nostalgic trade. While Orozco mainly focuses on these practices because of their implications for development they are similar to the types of activities put forth by the previous scholars. This is important to point out because, similar to the quantitative tradition within assimilation studies, transnationalism from below as a dominant way of understanding transnationalism emphasizes the individual unit of analysis over the organization unit of analysis. Other than the direction (i.e. above or below) of transnationalism, Orozco's example illustrates a difference in the nature of activities as public or private. Transnational activities can be completed in a domestic/private space or a public space (such as with political events). Institutional spaces and global media spaces are two other types

of spaces that can dictate the way that transnationalism as an identity is asserted or ascribed. By considering the type of transnational space, it is easier to situate the activities that organizations play a role in into these different spaces.

One final theoretical framework comes from Steven Vertovec (2001) who identifies six uses for the term transnationalism as: 1) a social morphology, 2) a type of consciousness, 3) a mode of cultural reproduction, 4) an avenue of capital, 5) a site of political engagement, and 6) a reconstruction of place or locality. While these are broader and more theoretical in nature, many of these themes have been touched upon in previous discussions. The significance of mentioning this framework is to understand the different lenses through which transnationalism is viewed. By understanding that wide variety, it is easier to see how transnationalism fits into other academic conversations described in this literature review.

I began this section with a discussion about formation of place identity in order to examine how the inclusion/exclusion created by barriers in the landscape influences immigrants' settlement into the host society and their sense of belonging. Thus, this section showed that the intersection between a sense of belonging, identity formation, and defining home were very closely related. The conversation on place-making lent itself to transnationalism, which uses the idea of transnational practices within transnational spaces. In essence, transnationalism links the idea that a landscape can create an inclusive or exclusive place to the immigration experience. With this link, the importance of close proximity in maintaining communities or a sense of belonging for immigrants (asserted by assimilation) comes into question and lays the ground work for heterolocalism. The next section combines the previous two topics of the literature review—assimilation and place identity—in order to engage in a conversation about heterolocalism. While transnationalism starts to question the assimilation assertion,

heterolocalism completely challenges the need for proximity, relying instead on ethnic institutions to produce a cohesive community and a sense of belonging.

C. Heterolocalism

So far in this literature review, I have created a thread that shows the redefinition of the spatial aspect of settlement and ethnic ties, from the idea of spatial assimilation to transnationalism. Throughout this thread, there were also pieces of commentary on individuals dominating as the unit of analysis in research. In this section, I give a background of heterolocalism including the origins and evolution of the theory. Heterolocalism was not only proposed 15 years ago, but is also most apt for describing sociospatial behaviors of new immigrants, especially in light of changing technology, policies, urbanization, and the changing role of ethnic institutions in creating cohesive communities. Thus, I use this section to contrast heterolocalism with previous models such as assimilation and explain the evolution of heterolocalism as the basis for my argument of why it needs to continue evolving to consider how nuanced the role of ethnic institutions is in creating cohesive communities.

i. Origins of Heterolocalism

Decades before the term heterolocalism entered the literature, Melvin Webber (1963) brought forth the idea of "community without propinquity." While Webber did not use this term in any way that related to ethnicity, Wilbur Zelinsky and Barrett Lee (1998) later adopted this idea to discuss the settlement patterns of ethnic minority communities. Specifically, the theory of heterolocalism suggests that immigrants are capable of retaining their identity as an ethnic community despite dispersion. In other words, cultural and social exchanges are not reliant on proximity.

Zelinsky (2001) thinks that the assimilation model view does not honor difference, and to an extreme, actually erases difference and severs ethnic attachments. On the other hand, he sees pluralism as a separation of ethnic particularities, producing cultural and ethnic islands. This means that both assimilation and pluralism are incompatible with "ethnicity." A pure or strong version of heterolocalism avoids these gaps within assimilation and pluralism. Zelinsky and Lee (1998) do see virtues in these two other models, as they share non-spatial similarities with pure heterolocalism. However, they see pure heterolocalism as a theory generally more applicable to recent migrants (partially because of its overlap with transnationalism, as is discussed later) and thus heterolocalism can serve as a supplement or a replacement of the other models, depending on the immigration group and context.

Zelinsky and Lee (1998) point out a few factors that distinguish pure heterolocalism from the other two models:

- 1) There is immediate or rapid spatial dispersion of heterolocal immigrants within the host country;
- 2) Residence and workplace are usually widely separated, as is frequently the case for residences and sites of social activity such as shopping
- 3) Even without spatial propinquity, strong ethnic community ties are maintained (i.e. via telecommunications, visits, etc) at the metropolitan, regional, national, and even international scale;
- 4) Heterolocalism is a time-dependent phenomenon. Although partial manifestations may be evident in earlier periods, its full development is conceivable only under the socio-economic and technological conditions of the late 20th century; and
- 5) Heterolocalism can be observed in both metropolitan and non-metropolitan settings

Another characteristic which Zelinsky and Lee mention is that heterolocal groups—or groups that are able to maintain ties while dispersed—usually have middle or upper socioeconomic status. However, this is not a requirement or trend in all heterolocal groups and there are many examples of socioeconomic diversity among heterolocal groups (Zelinsky and Lee 1998).

The next section will describe modifications to the pure definition of heterolocalism which Zelinsky and Lee proposed. Before that I wanted to take a moment to describe why I use heterolocalism rather than an idea such as diaspora which is an older and better established term. The first reason is that heterolocalism sparked a conversation within the geographic literature, the field my thesis is based upon. This is not to say that the geographic literature does not consider the concept of diaspora. Rather, heterolocalism reacts more explicitly to arguments about spatial assimilation and incorporates ideas of space and scale to a greater extent than diaspora. For example, Thomas Faist (2010) compares diaspora and transnationalism (also cited as heterolocalism at the international scale) in the following characterization:

"Diaspora approaches focus on aspects of collective identity, while transnational approaches take their cue from cross-border mobility. Although both approaches use both concepts, there are sometimes differences in emphasis...issues of collective identity do also matter from a transnational perspective....however, these identity changes are regarded as being derived from cross-border mobility of persons (21)."

Thus, Faist argues that both approaches examine the same phenomenon but focus on different characteristics and different sociospatial behaviors. Faist (2010) goes on to describe transnationalism as broader because of the focus beyond identity characteristics to include social formations and movements. Thus, he argues this breadth means that "[T]ransnational communities encompass diasporas, but not all transnational communities are diasporas" (21). In fact, this difference in focus is also emphasized by

Roger Brubaker (2005) who says, "Most early discussions of diaspora were firmly rooted in a conceptual 'homeland.' [These] 'classical' diasporas have become more attenuated still, to the point of being lost altogether" (2). Brubaker goes on to cite transethnic and transborder linguistic categories of diaspora as well as white, liberal, gay, and digital diasporas to demonstrate the focus on a population that may be dispersed but not necessarily the reasons for their migration. In short, the comparison between transnationalism (heterolocalism at the international scale) and diaspora has been discussed in the literature and although the two interact, they have had distinct evolutions on their own as well. We now shift to the evolution of heterolocalism.

ii. Different Takes on Heterolocalism

The previous section described the original theory of heterolocalism, or pure heterolocalism while this section discusses the evolution from this initial theory of heterolocalism. While a relatively new take on settlement geography, pure heterolocalism has already sparked a few responses—namely nodal and dynamic heterolocalism. Susan Hardwick (2006) uses the term "nodal heterolocalism" to describe the patterns in her study. In her research on Russians and Ukrainians in Oregon, she observed residential dispersal but not exactly as pure heterolocalism would predict. Instead of broad dispersal, she observed a series of dispersed residential clusters that were settled by immigrants partially in response to locations of religious institutions and social service providers. Another factor she identified is affordability. Both of these factors are areas ripe for future research on settlement influences among heterolocal groups, with the latter alluding to the constraints of decisions rather than individual desires. Another similar twist on pure heterolocalism was the idea of "dynamic heterolocalism" presented

by Keith Halfacree (2012). Halfacree takes the idea of motility—or "the way in which an individual appropriates what is possible in the domain of mobility and puts this potential to use for his or her activities"—from Kaufmann (2002) and combines it with pure heterolocalism to create the idea of dynamic heterolocalism. In other words, dynamic heterolocalism rejects the idea of a single, settled home in favor of the idea that multiple places help create an identity and lifestyle. While Halfacree is using this theory for his analysis of second homes in rural settings, the idea of dynamic heterolocalism can also be applied to the settlement of ethnic communities, especially if viewed through a transnational lens. These two modifications on pure heterolocalism were an attempt to nuance the definition by showing deviations from the original conception of heterolocalism. This type of modification is what I propose in my conclusion and should not be interpreted as a critique of pure heterolocalism, but rather a point of clarification to rethink heterolocalism similar to nodal and dynamic heterolocalism.

After Zelinsky and Lee's first article introducing the theory of heterolocalism, Richard Wright and Mark Ellis (2000a) presented a critique that the idea of "how well immigrants fit into our society... [is] increasingly constructed at a regional scale." This is why heterolocalism can be applied to a variety of scales from the metropolitan, regional, national, and international level. For example, transnationalism can be thought of as heterolocalism at the international scale.

One critique of almost all settlement theories is that they overemphasize the role that residential location plays in the integration process. Residential location is often painted as one of the most significant factors leading to assimilation (Massey 1985). However, workplace/school locations and contacts also impact the integration process—and perhaps to a greater extent than the residential factor. Pure heterolocalism gets at this by including social sites and workplace dispersal in addition to residential locations.

iii. Nature of Social Interactions for Heterolocal Groups

Zelinsky and Lee (1998) mention that heterolocalism results in different levels of dispersion among different immigrant groups. There is even variability within one immigrant group depending on the arrival period, the motivations to migrate, and city where settlement occurs. Zelinsky and Lee (1998) give the example that Koreans tend to display heterolocal patterns except for the clustered community in Chicago. However, even this cluster has a different feel to it than what Zelinsky and Lee call classic ethnic ghettos (or than those in the early 20th century). This supports the assertion by Bruce Newbold (2004) that "space modifies the assimilation process." In other words, the factors leading to varied settlement patterns also lead to divergent assimilation experiences between different places. Newbold also ponders whether these differences across space persist or dissipate over time.

Halfacree (2012) puts this another way when he describes intranational/international dualism. Halfacree (2012) says that transnationalism is imagined as both internal (intranational) and international but heterolocalism transgresses this dualism. In other words, Halfacree (2012) says that heterolocalism is able to bring transnationalism to the host country. Even Zelinsky and Lee (1998) bring up this parallel when discussing heterolocalism and the strength of ethnic ties at the international scale. Another similarity is that both heterolocalism and transnationalism are mainly products of the modern era. While some argue that transnationalism is nothing new, the significance and pervasiveness of it has been amplified and sped up by modern technology.

The rise of technology—from personal mobility to communication tools—has been significant in muting the significance of geography and making de-territorialized ethnic communities possible. In fact, an unanticipated manifestation of heterolocalism has been pan-

spatial communities such as ethnic-related internet pages and forums—which have grown exponentially, both locally and internationally. This form of community that transcends borders and distance allows individuals who self-identify with a particular ethnic identity to create a community with individuals they often do not know (Zelinsky and Lee 1998).

However, technology is only part of the redefinition of the spatial aspect of settlement and ethnic ties. The other part of community cohesion is the institutions—or "glue that holds it together" (Zelinsky and Lee 1998). Examples include religious institutions, business associations, athletic leagues, social services, bars, cultural centers, non-profits, etc. Zelinsky and Lee (1998) also point out that even for communities without formal organizations, personal networks can serve the same purpose. This serves as a point of departure for the analysis chapter.

Regardless of whether the networks are formal or informal, one purpose they serve is to create a sense of place and community that can foster the embrace of ethnic identity. As mentioned in the section on assimilation, differential levels of success hinge on factors such as the nature of immigration, endowed resources, and host country reception. This means that without resources to establish networks or a positive reception to support the networks, some immigrant groups may find creating networks more difficult than others. This in turn may then have implications for the ease of establishing heterolocal communities, although that has not been studied yet. Another factor that has recently emerged in research is the role of physical barriers and how they affect success. Douglas Noonan (2005) attempts to counter the "featureless plain" that models of residential sorting use by looking at the role physical barriers play in creating boundaries. Noonan argues that there is a racial division created when certain geographical features serve as borders. This manifests itself in clustering, differential property

values, and other social implications. While Noonan focused on racial groups, it is possible to consider similar implications between various ethnic groups.

If the barrier effects Noonan describes hold true for ethnic group clustering, then the formation of ethnic enclaves may require another factor for analysis. For example, if physical barriers exist within the borders of an enclave, it may prevent growth or dispersion while the lack of barriers promote growth or dispersion. This means that while the landscape can be transformed to shape inclusion and exclusion, there are some components that cannot be transformed and thus the creation of a sense of belonging changes. To take this one step further, if barriers are considered outside of a physical sense, the formation of non-spatial communities changes. Barriers in this scenario can include language, access to the Internet and technology, or other social factors. Essentially, the question of barriers brings up the question of how to effectively create a place identity, as discussed in the previous section. If barriers prevent heterolocalism to some extent, the question then centers on whether heterolocalism is an effective avenue for place-making.

Finally, heterolocalism says that ethnic ties can be retained without clustering with part of this proposal based off of the networks of ethnicity model (Mitchell 2008). The interest in networks of ethnicity grew with the focus of ethnic enclave economies in the 1980s. Katharyne Mitchell describes networks of ethnicity as "relational social and economic ties based on various commonalities shared by a group of people," with the purpose of helping to "extend to the group's identity spatially" and as an important aspect of organizing the group socially and economically. In essence, an important aspect of networks of ethnicity is organization in general—not necessarily a concentration such as the enclaves which was where the original model focused. Specifically, Mitchell says, "Scale is a key factor.... The geographic formation of

the ethnic 'community' may no longer be limited to a neighborhood based on physical proximity....[but rather] there might be equally strong connections to other neighborhoods in different cities or even different countries," as reference to the changing networks of ethnicity and alluding to transnational ties (Mitchell 2008).

Heterolocalism, especially when viewed alongside transnationalism, has some implications for the second generation. This can come in the form of diasporic tourism (one of the 5 T's) and various assimilation paths for the second generation. Consideration of the second generation is important because once the migration of the first generation slows, the role of social sites may be to serve the second generation and may also be re-defined by the second generation. With respect to ethnic institutions, a change in their audience may change the role that ethnic institutions play as they adapt to fill new needs.

D. Conclusion

By examining the three conversations surrounding assimilation, place identity, and heterolocalism, this literature review also touches on many smaller concepts and frameworks. Combining these frameworks is essential to answer the research question: How do ethnic institutions facilitate place-making within their communities? The concepts in the literature review also lay the groundwork for my argument that introduces segmented heterolocalism in order to make heterolocalism accessible to nuances of ethnic institution operations.

The literature review started off by exploring different models of incorporation and integration into the host society and thus the different outcomes of immigrants in the modern era. In the early days of assimilation studies, Milton Gordon (1964) proposed multiple stages of assimilation, including many that focused on reactions from the host society such as lack of

prejudice and discrimination. Today, the four main dimensions of assimilation used by researchers are acculturation, socioeconomic achievement, residential integration, and social integration. The idea of segmented assimilation changed some major underlying assumptions by focusing the unit of analysis on the larger context in which immigrants are situated and allows for more than just individual-level decisions. This is quite important as different levels of success hinge on governmental policy, societal reception, and the co-ethnic community, which are not controlled at the individual level.

These factors transcend success in assimilation by also shedding light on an understanding of how identity is built or taken apart, based on the effect of those three factors. The constructionist approach, which was explained earlier, also focuses on the changing nature of identities by highlighting the axes on which identities can be categorized: thick identity (one that comprehensively organizes social life) to thin identity (minimal impact on social life) and another axis ranging from assigned identity (ascribed by outsiders or circumstances) to asserted identity (claimed by ethnic or racial groups). The determining factor in placing identity in one of the four quadrants which these axes create is one of three types of bonds: shared interests, shared institutions, and shared culture.

These bonds can be looked at in the context of space and scale. Some of these bonds, such as institutions, are stretched when changing the spatiality from which ethnic communities are examined. The ability of these bonds to stretch is of particular relevance to the discussion of place identity, which is created by the boundaries of inclusion/exclusion within a space. Scale is also essential when considering identity, and particularly the influence of transnationalism on its formation. I discussed the intersection between identity formation, a sense of belonging, and defining in the section on place identity under the context of the unifying idea of the landscape.

The landscape has an effect on the social relationships and inclusion/exclusion practices within a particular space. Exploring the meaning of place identity is crucial because it is something that ethnic institutions play a role in creating. The idea of retaining or even creating an identity different from the host society or what assimilation envisions (in some contexts) brings into question the entire process of assimilation, its speed and its success.

Of course, the assumption that spatial proximity is a good measure of identity formation, or assimilation in general still exists. Heterolocalism calls this assumption into question. Heterolocalism allows for ethnic ties, and perhaps identity, to be retained and maintained by various methods such as telecommunications and visits even when spatial proximity is not a reality for communities. Another attribute of heterolocalism is the separation of residence and site of social activity. Therefore places that maintain social activity, such as ethnic institutions, may maintain the ties within ethnic communities. Thus, heterolocalism has served as the convergence of the first two sections (assimilation and place identity) within the literature review to explain how the previous two bodies of literature are bridged together. Heterolocalism places the individual immigrant or family unit of analysis within a larger network to understand their behavior in terms of adjustment to the host society as well as connection to place. However, it needs to be modified to account for nuances of how ethnic institutions facilitate a connection to place through varied means depending on their activities. The next chapter on methodology elaborates on the relevance of these literatures with explicit connections between the research question, theoretical frameworks introduced in this chapter, and methods used for exploring my case study.

CHAPTER 3: BACKGROUND

In order to give this research thesis and its case studies context, this chapter provides some background information on the Albanian population. This is essential because the Albanian diaspora, while ethnically united, comes from different nation-states and thus brings with it different histories, barriers, and migration experiences into the new countries in which the diaspora settles. This chapter paints a picture of the migration and settlement populations of Albanians. This chapter also provides an overview of the distribution and relations among neighboring countries in Europe and the diaspora, as well as the population within the United States. I organized this background information in an order that may seem to be counterintuitive because it starts with the histories and context of the countries of origin themselves. I did this to help shed light on why there are multiple types and amounts of waves of migration. This variety in context of origin is both a unifying and divisive characteristic of the Albanian diaspora because it creates a sense of camaraderie as language and culture is shared but a sense of separation because of the different struggles faced depending on the reference point of origin. The dual unifying and divisive characteristic is important enough to have emerged as a theme from the interviews, as is explained in the analysis chapter. By presenting this information first, I provide context as to the way the community operated within initial settlements in the United States. The section on the United States is mainly a descriptive summary of the history followed by some general immigration statistics for Chicago and New York. The contexts of emigration and reception in the United States matter to rethinking heterolocalism because they explain the motivations immigrants have to maintain ties with the community despite issues of proximity.

A. Migration from Albania and Kosovo

Albania (*Shqipëria*) proper is a country in southeastern Europe (see Figure 3) with a population just over three million. It is largely an ethnically homogeneous country with 95% of the population identifying as Albanian, 3% Greek, and 2% other (World Factbook, 2014a). In terms of religious affiliation, however, the 2011 Albanian census found that there were 57% Muslims, 10% Catholics, 7% Orthodox, and 26% other or "prefer not to answer" (Botimi and Nurja 2011).

The evolution of this religious diversity can be seen in the history of the nation. In 1912, Albania declared independence from the Ottoman Empire. From 1944 to 1991, the country was under Communist rule, which largely hindered progress. In 1967, Enver Hoxha, leader of the Communist Party, prohibited religious observations and converted all places of worship into museums or youth centers. This was partially because he viewed religion as the gift of enemies, based on previous invaders (Sulemani 2009).



Figure 3-- Map of Albania
(World Factbook, 2014a)

In addition, Hoxha essentially halted any emigration out of Albania. Hoxha's heavy restriction caused a large rural to urban migration as well as an explosion of emigration when Communism fell in 1991. While there are reports of emigration before 1944, this was largely due to economic push factors and was not well recorded. Migration during the period of Communism was even scarcer as it was limited primarily to high officials. This makes the largest and most significant wave of emigration the post-1990 wave. This migration wave came with a lot of built-up momentum, causing most of the exodus to be uncontrolled in nature. In the first two years, about 300,000 left the country. Around 1997, there were political and economic frustrations in the country in reaction to the 350% inflation rate, 50% annual GDP drop, and high unemployment. Another large cohort left the country after the unrest. Within a few months, almost 70,000 people had migrated away (Kosta 2004). By 2001, estimates reported totals as high as 800,000 out-migrants. This staggering statistic amounts to almost a quarter of the total population that is living abroad today (Kosta 2004).

However, the rate of present-day migration out of Albania is no longer so drastic, standing at around a migration loss of about 3 individuals/1,000 population (IOM, 2013). Economic push factors still remain central, cited by 91% of Albanian migrants as the reason for their decision to leave (UNDP 2002). In addition, the young still remain more likely to migrate but in contrast to the pre-1944 era, there are a large number of educated individuals leaving. In fact, between 1990 and 2003, almost half of the country's university professors and researchers left. Their exodus not only caused a negative impact on the country, but also on the individual migrants. Between 60-80% of highly educated Albanian emigrants do not work in their areas of specialization, causing the "brain drain" to transform into "brain waste" (Kosta 2004).

Another factor that has changed is destination. Early on, the majority of early emigrants went to nearby European countries such as Greece and Italy. This was in large part due to convenience but was also encouraged by seasonal employment agreements between these countries (UNDP 2002). The United States and other Western countries soon became a more popular destination for many as can be seen in Figure 4 below (Wikipedia 2009a). This is elaborated on in the next two sections.

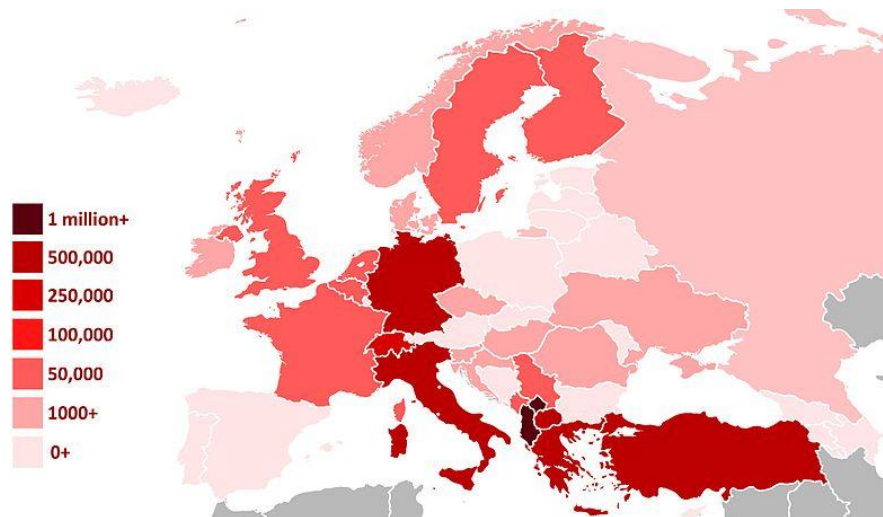


Figure 4- Distribution of ethnic Albanians across Europe
(Wikipedia 2009a)

Before discussing the diaspora, it is also important to explain the distribution of ethnic Albanians outside of Albania proper. The next largest population of Albanians is found in Kosovo (*Kosovë/Kosova*). Kosovo's population of almost two million people is made up of 92% ethnic Albanians, 4% ethnic Serbians, and 4% other (Ulaj 2006). The Kosovo census does not ask about religious affiliation but the vast majority of Kosovo's Albanians are Muslim while most of the Serbian population identifies with the Orthodox Church. There is also a smaller population from a variety of ethnic backgrounds that identify as Catholic (World Factbook, 2014b). This ethnic breakdown has roots in Kosovo's history and independence.

In reaction to the removal of Kosovo's autonomous status in 1989, as well as serious tensions with Serbians before this action, there was a significant reaction, eventually evolving into a war that broke out in 1998. Kosovo's migration waves are largely shaped by push factors relating to violence and discrimination. Kosovo gained independence in 2008 but still struggles with unemployment rates as high as 45% and related issues as a new country (World Factbook, 2014b).

Kosovo has been a contested territory since Albania's independence in 1913 and the border delineation that left out a proportion of the ethnic Albanian population in Slavic-dominated areas (Koinova 2012). However, because it was within the borders of Former Yugoslavia, Kosovo did not have to face migration restrictions as harsh as in Albania. The first large wave of recorded migration started in the 1960s and was characterized by unskilled, poorly educated, rural emigrants who worked as temporary workers, primarily in Germany and Switzerland. From 1989-1997, the second phase was largely driven by those fleeing the area during the dissolution of Yugoslavia, a mass dismissal of Kosovar Albanians from their jobs after Kosovo's autonomy was abolished, and the early period of ethnic cleansing. The final phase was mainly 1997-1999, during and after the Kosovo War. During the war, almost 10,000 Kosovo Albanians were killed and 800,000 fled as refugees to neighboring countries (Simons 2006). More than half of the diaspora originated in this phase (Mustafa et al. 2007). NATO attacks played a large role in ending the war, with the United States as a key ally. In fact, following the war the United States allowed 20,000 Kosovars to enter as refugees and gave priority admission to 130,000 Kosovar Albanians in Macedonia who could be sponsored by legal United States residents (Migration News 1999). The role of the United States in helping end the war and in the resettlement process resonates in the memories of many immigrants and explains the fondness

and appreciation Albanians have towards the United States and their settlement process as immigrants. By the time independence was declared in 2008, most of those who had left Kosovo had settled down in their host countries and more than half had received citizenship (Mustafa et al. 2007). In addition, many saw the importance of staying abroad so they could help rebuild their homes. Conflict-generated diasporas, in general, are more likely to maintain a "myth of return" and attachment to the homeland than ordinary immigrants (Faist 2000; Shain 2002; Lyons 2006).

In this section on the context within the region, I provided a very specific description of population size, migration patterns, politics, and history. The takeaway message more broadly is that when the Albanian diaspora refers to home, "home" can be very different for members within the same diaspora. The idea of "home" is unifying in the sense that there is a shared culture and language but the context and background differs, and can sometimes be a divisive factor. The next section goes more in-depth into this divisive factor when describing how individuals within the diaspora may have different areas of concern they hold dear to them.

B. Context in the Diaspora

The next largest Albanian population found in a neighboring country is in Macedonia (*Maqedoni*). Most of the Albanian population is concentrated in the northern and western parts of the country, closest to the borders of Albania and Kosovo as shown in Figure 5 below (Wikipedia 2006). Ethnic Albanians make up more than a quarter of Macedonia's population of two million (World Factbook, 2014b). Although there have been tensions in the past, relations are mostly stable and there are Albanian political parties that participate in elections. There are

occasions when tensions will flare up because of political representation, discrimination, or employment concerns.

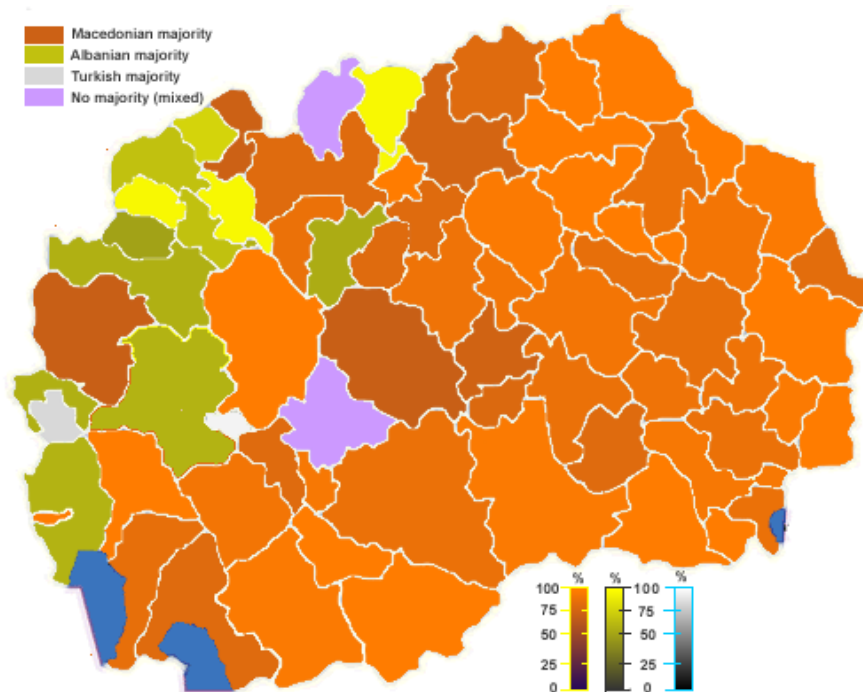


Figure 5- Macedonian population distribution by ethnicity
(Wikipedia 2006)

The next largest population of ethnic Albanians is found in Greece. As in Macedonia, the population is about half a million, but this only accounts for 4% of the population which is more than ten million people (EU, 2001). In 1912, Albania's independence prompted new borders but they did not correspond exactly with the residency location of all Albanians. Parts of the southern coastal region of Epirus remain one of the most contested borders in the area. This region (*Çamëria*) is often incorporated into folk songs and current conversations among Albanians. In fact, the case for *Çamëria* was often brought up by members of the diaspora during and since the Kosovo war as a cause to unite behind. The image below shows a rhyming play on words translating into, "Without Kosovo and *Çamëria*, there is no Albania" in an effort to emphasize the significance of the region.



Figure 6- Support for Çamëria during a protest
Source: CNN TV coverage

A similar situation is true of a region in Montenegro. Ethnic Albanians in Montenegro make up 5% of the 653,000 population (World Factbook, 2014c). The population is found primarily in the south eastern part of the country in the region known as *Malësi* and the city known as *Ulçin*, as seen in Figure 7 below (Wikipedia 2012).

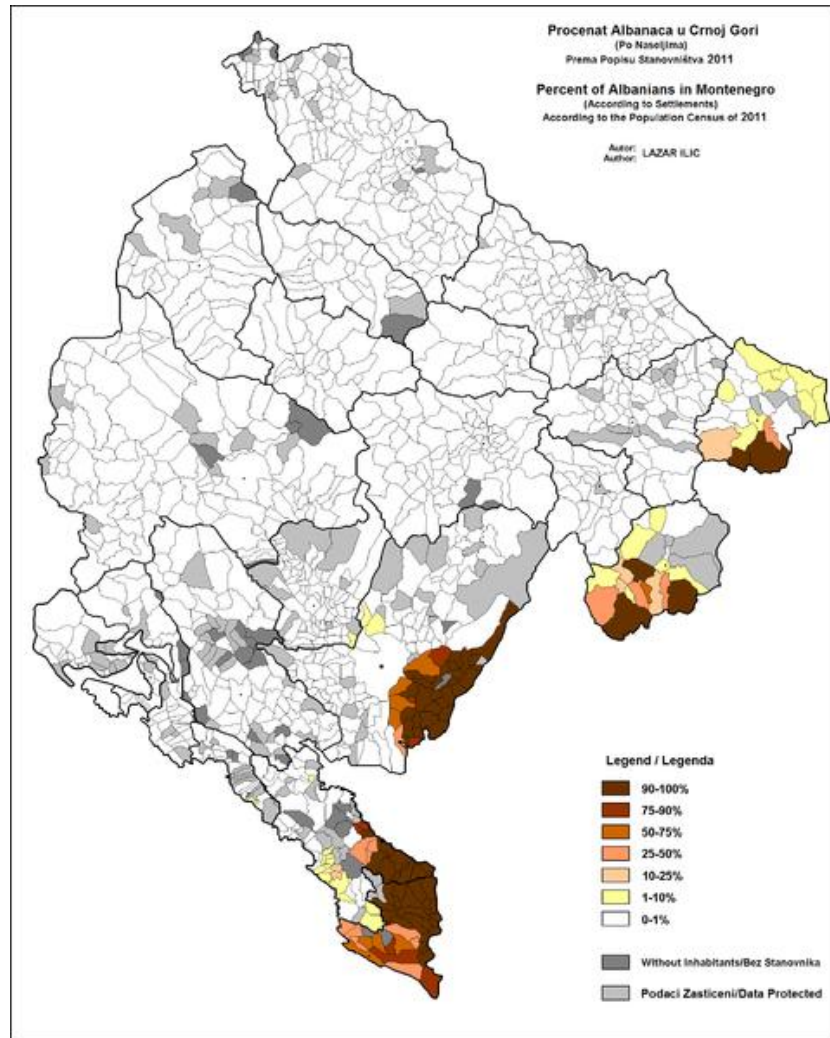


Figure 7- Albanian population distribution in Montenegro
(Wikipedia 2012)

The border disputes in the Balkans emerge and continue to be discussed in the region and this thesis because of the relatively recent declarations of independence by many of the countries in the region and subsequent re-drawing of borders. Many of these disputes are complicated by cultural, linguistic, religious, ethnic, and political factors. These disputes also use historical arguments as well as current day population settlements to make arguments for changing the border, as shown in Figures 8 and 9 (Wikipedia 2009b). The figures below show the current day presence of Albanians as well as the historical vision of Albania's borders. These figures can be

used for a variety of purposes but they fit well into this chapter to give a visual of the imaginary Albanians use when talking about the Albanian population. The phrase "*një gjuhë, një komb, një shtet*" means "one language, one nation/people, one state" and is an example of what this vision means to people. It is often used during independence days or other displays of nationality. Having said that, it is also important to point out there are many differences between Albanians depending on where they are from. Of course these differences can also exist within a country's borders with variations between urban and rural populations.



Figure 8- Current settlement of ethnic Albanians (left)
 Figure 9- Historical borders of ethnic Albania (right)
 (Wikipedia 2009b)

However, differences become more pronounced across borders, especially in terms of language. The Albanian language has two main dialects—Gheg and Tosk—which vary depending on geographic location but are also further made distinct when they are mixed with the host country's languages. For example, Albanians in Macedonia often have Turkish and Macedonian influences on their use of the Albanian language. This means that among the

Albanian diaspora, there may be three or more ways to refer to one object! However, communication still remains easy between one another. If something as unifying as language can vary so much, then differences such as traditional costumes, cuisine, celebrations (including religious celebrations), traditions, and other definers of culture vary even more between Albanians spread across different countries.

So far, this chapter has given a quick overview of the region from which Albanians migrate in order to make sense of later discussions of how they settle and associate with one another in the host country. The variety of origins is both a unifying and divisive characteristic of the Albanian diaspora and will serve as a central and foundational point of understanding for later analysis. The next chapter focuses on the context in the United States. While there are large Albanian populations found in Italy, Turkey, Germany, and Switzerland, as seen in Figure 4, I focus on the United States because it also has a sizeable population and is the context I am most familiar with.

C. Context in the United States

In the United States, Albanian immigrants face a different environment and reception because Americans have a smaller understanding of their culture and history than people in Europe. The first documented Albanian to come to the United States came between 1884 and 1886 and was soon followed by a larger cohort. Albanian "colonies" were established in Massachusetts by the first two decades of the 20th century, primarily by Albanians from a region near the city of Korçë who had initially arrived in New York. In 1906, the first Albanian newspaper (*Kombi*, or Nation) in the United States was established as a weekly publication in Boston by Sotir Petsi. The newspaper also attempted a census of Albanians, as the editors

believed the 1910 U.S. Census of the time under-reported 625 Albanians in the area. The newspaper's census also acknowledged that despite a concentration in New England and New York City, many Albanians were being drawn westward to new industries and hypothesized the true population to be in the tens of thousands. *Kombi* was central to uniting many of the Albanian mill workers and establishing a "common national spirit" (Federal Writer's Project 1939). Soon after the publication began, Fan (Stylian) Noli arrived in the United States and helped build a sense of Albanian nationalism among the Albanian immigrant community. In 1908, he helped create the Albanian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which became a space for nationalists—Christian and Muslim—to gather and eventually a space for the entire community.

Noli then invited Faik Konitza, an Albanian who was completing his master's degree at Harvard, to Boston in order to help with political organizing. Konitza started a new newspaper, *Dielli* (Sun), after his experience publishing an Albanian cultural magazine in Brussels and London. *Dielli* was published by the Besa-Besen Society in 1909 and was the successor to *Kombi*, retaining a political advocacy tone. Upon Albanian independence, the Pan-Albanian Federation of America, or *Vatra* (Hearth) was formed with Konitza at the head and *Dielli* operating as a part of the organization. Membership to *Vatra* was open to any Albanian over 21 years old who paid a \$3 annual fee for a subscription to *Dielli*. The *Vatra* headquarters became an important center for Albanians, united by the national movement. *Vatra* sent many messages in an attempt to shape post-independence Albania, including a call to bring western culture and traditions into Albania and objecting to any establishment of a "Mohammedan [Muslim] prince." Essentially the early days of Albanian settlement in the United States show a very close community forming and advocating for foreign relations.

The strength of the ties Albanians retained to the homeland was created by a hope for return. Between 1919 and 1925, twenty to thirty thousand Albanians did return but were disillusioned by the economic and political reality that faced their homeland and returned to the United States. The majority of Albanians in the United States (90%) determined to make it their permanent home. With this new sentiment, *Vatra* shifted to helping the homeland with educational and cultural pursuits by shipping textbooks they published back to Albania. By 1921, *Vatra* had grown to have 80 branches throughout the United States and Canada. However, relations with Albania had been strained as *Dielli* was banned in the country and Noli's time as Prime Minister of Albania lasted only six months.

Albanian-American organizations then shifted somewhat to local concerns. Some Albanians were struggling to make enough financially to send home enough remittances. This prompted many to start businesses, just as they had in the homeland. At one point, there were 60 Albanian-owned stores from groceries to barber shops. One shop owner described the community as intimate and full of communal relationships because they were not in a large city, stating, "At least we are not strangers in the wilderness of America" (Federal Writer's Project 1939). The 1930 U.S. Census had the Albanian population at just under 3,000. However, this was only counting the foreign-born and not necessarily those of Albanian ancestry, as the population now included first- and second-generation Albanians. Many figures from church records and fraternal organizations put estimates much higher, around 40,000 (Federal Writer's Project 1939).

In 1932, the Albanian-American Association was formed, primarily as a political club but also aiding the older population in their English acquisition and gaining citizenship (Nagi 1989). Before 1920, federal statistics indicated only 6% of the male Albanian immigrants had gained

citizenship compared to 28% by 1930. Another spin-off group in 1936 focused more explicitly on citizenship and served the Albanian, Greek, and Romanian communities. There is also a record of "ladies' societies" forming to do charitable work. Organized life, beyond the church, was gaining prominence especially when organizations were centered around social and philanthropic activities. The churches still remained strong so overall there was a net increase in community centers and a sense of belonging rather than one organization replacing another. In fact, many more organizations started to form and expanded the focus of their work. One good example is that many associations were formed by Albanian students in colleges and universities. Many Albanian students were supported by scholarships established by organizations such as *Vatra*.

Some viewed the plethora of organizations as a way to retain culture while others thought they served as a medium to accelerate assimilation (Federal Writer's Project 1939). These two goals were especially debated as the population began to spread across the country. Boston remained the major center of Albanian settlement until the late seventies. This was around the same time that migration to the United States by Albanians outside of Albania proper increased due to Tito's open-border policies for Yugoslavia and poor employment opportunities (Ragaru and Dymi 2004). The number of Albanians in the United States in 1981 was around 70,000 (Nagi 1989). The 1990 U.S. Census showed that the distribution of Albanians was most populated in New York City (especially the Bronx), followed by Massachusetts, Michigan, New Jersey, Illinois, California, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

Today the Albanian population in the United States stands at over 193,000 compared to 47,000 in 1990 according to the American Community Survey (American Community Survey 2010). The American Community Survey is self-reported and is a sample of the entire

population, which explains the large variability in reported statistics on the Albanian population. While the history outlined above focuses on Albanians emigrating very early from Albania proper, the population of Albanians includes those identifying as ethnically Albanian. Of course, even these statistics are not perfect because it is difficult to record a count when people are arriving from multiple countries of origin, when there are second and third generation Albanians, and because of the questions asked and methodologies of the Decennial Census and the American Community Survey.

Another area where statistics are difficult to attain concerns the growth in the Albanian population in the United States due to the Kosovo War. Kosovar refugees fleeing the war first went to neighboring states in the region, such as Macedonia and Albania, or in Western Europe, such as Germany. However, as these host countries saw larger influxes, pressure grew for the United States to take action. The United States had already set aside 25,000 out of the 78,000 openings for refugees that year for refugees from the Balkans, of which 9,000 were for those coming from former Yugoslavia (Shenon 1999). However, to meet rising demand, President Bill Clinton signed Presidential Determination No. 99–33 on August 12, 1999. This raised the total refugee cap to 91,000 for the 1998 fiscal year with a regional stipulation indicating that the 13,000 increase in openings were intended for Kosovar refugees (Bruno 2007). Priority was given to those that had "close family ties in America" or were "particularly vulnerable" (Violet 1999). This is important to note because unlike other refugees, Kosovar refugees arrived to a well-established co-ethnic community. In fact, only 2,748 refugees had returned to Kosovo from the United States as of December 1999, which may be in part due to the positive reception experienced in the United States. While the experience of Kosovar refugees is important to consider for the broader Albanian community formation in the United States, the literature does

not have a substantial depth on this experience. An exception is the work of anthropologist Frances Trix (2000) who has done extensive work with the Albanian community both in the United States and abroad.

Along with the increasing rates of immigration, another change in the Albanian-American community was the level of cohesion. First, there was a divide between the original Albanian settlers and Albanians who had escaped Hoxha's rule and arrived to the United States in the 1950s. The latter group had strong anti-Communist feelings as compared to the original settlers who were either supportive of Hoxha's effort to unify Albanian sovereignty or indifferent. Earlier in the history, these organizations shifted from a political to a cultural focus in their missions. This became an issue when common definitions of identity needed to apply to the internal diversity of the evolving Albanian community in the United States. Whereas before this diversity emerged, representation came mainly from Albanians from Albania-proper, leadership changed as Albanians from the rest of the region arrived. With this shift, and with escalating tensions in the homeland, new organizations began to form which focused on their respective place of origin. However, in 1989 Joe DioGuardi started the American Civic League (AACL) to address the situation in Kosovo by unifying the efforts of the Albanian population on this cause. DioGuardi began working on the issue in 1986 and attempted to bring a resolution to Congress but it wasn't until the AACL formed and gained momentum by unifying the Albanian population that he was able to successfully capture the attention of United States politicians. The Albanian-American community became visible across the country during the Kosovo War. There hasn't been a similarly significant moment since, although some cities do organize parades and flag raisings for Independence Day (Flag Day) celebrations. The effort to organize around Flag Day has increased in many cities following the momentum of the 100th year anniversary in 2012.

To get a little more specific, I will now focus explicitly on the context within Chicago and New York, my two case studies.

Chicago

Not only are Albanians spread across different cities, but there also seems to be a trend of suburbanization. I elaborate on this in interview analyses but this pattern can be seen in the data about immigrants more broadly. One study finds that "many recent immigrants are bypassing Chicago and moving directly to the suburbs and rural areas," as a 16% drop in urban living by immigrants is seen in Illinois (ICIRR, 2011). This trend is also seen by Figure 10 below which shows the suburbs surpassing Chicago for immigrant settlement in the 1990s (Paral and Norkewicz 2003).

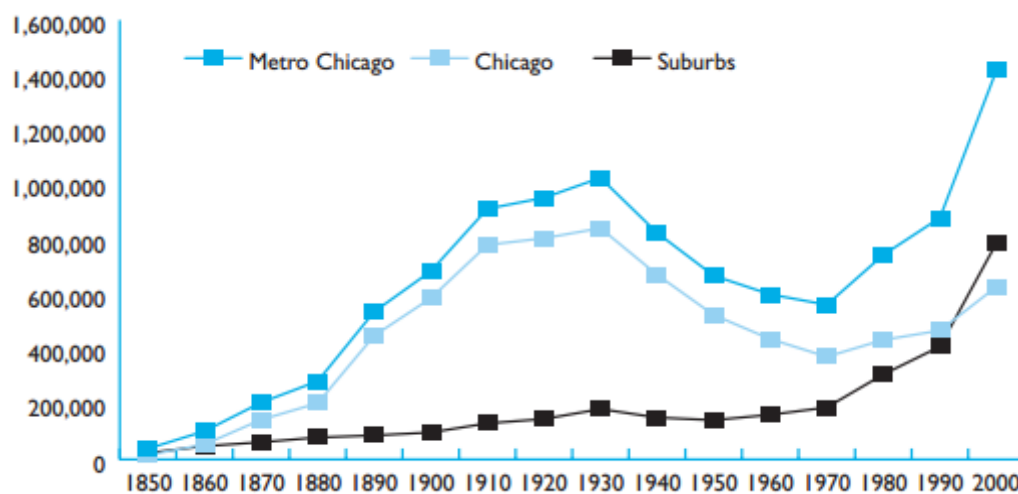


Figure 10- Number of immigrants in Chicago and Chicagoland area
(Paral and Norkewicz 2003)

Another visual of this can be seen through Figure 11 below, from 2003. While the map shows some high concentrations of Yugoslavian³ immigrants in Chicago, there are many

³ Yugoslavian immigrants are used as a proxy to represent that region and parallel the trend of Albanian immigration

suburban communities that have as high or higher concentrations than within the city proper. If this was a time-lapse map, the change might be easier to see (Paral and Norkewicz 2003).

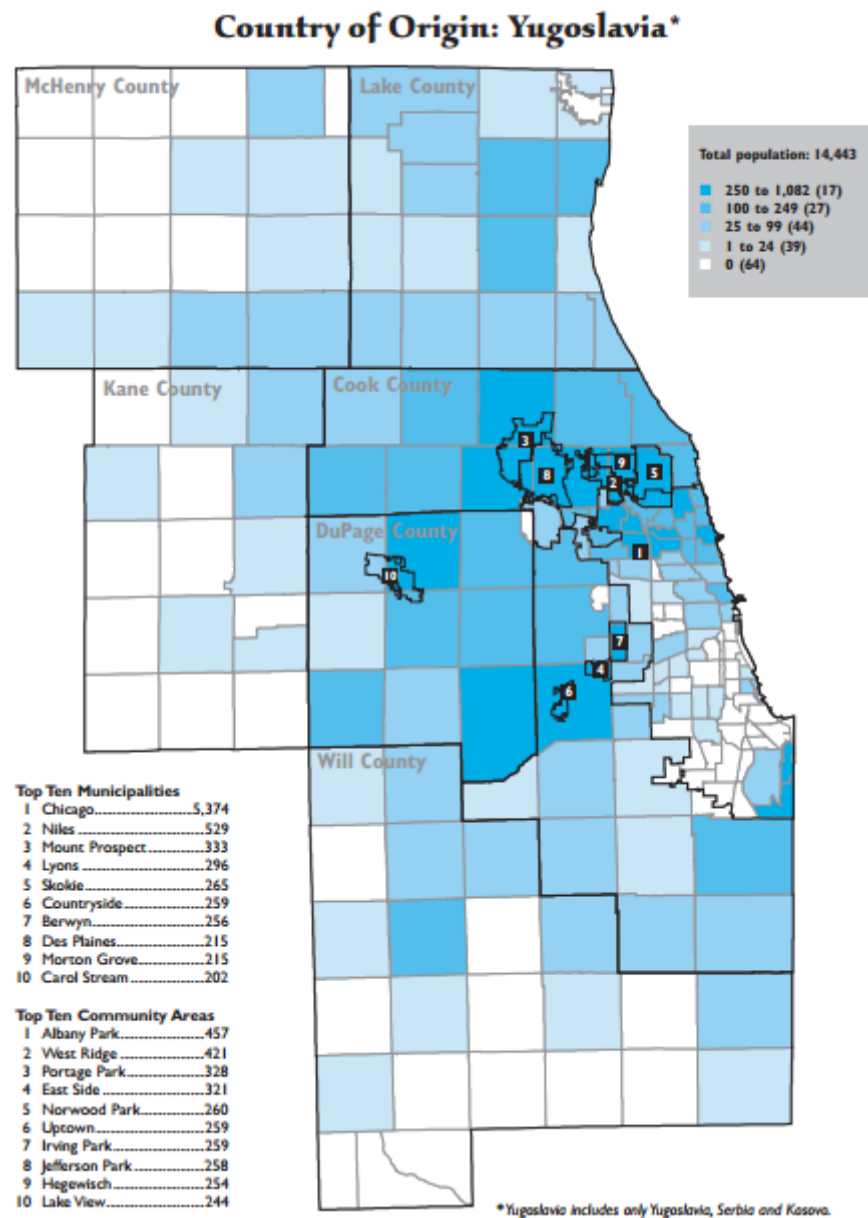


Figure 11- Chicagoland area distribution of immigrants from Yugoslavia (Paral and Norkewicz 2003)

New York

It is more difficult to draw the same conclusions for the suburbs of New York City based on available data. It also seems as though the suburbanizing effect may not be so significant for that city, especially because of the presence of strong ethnic enclaves. In particular, most Albanians and Albanian businesses in New York are found in the Bronx and neighborhoods such as Belmont, Morris Park, and Pelham Parkway (Donovan 2001). Figure 12 shows the concentration of immigrants across the city (U.S. Census 2000). It may be fair to assume that concentrations that are closer to the border may see spillover effects into the suburbs, but there is not enough data to make a claim either way.

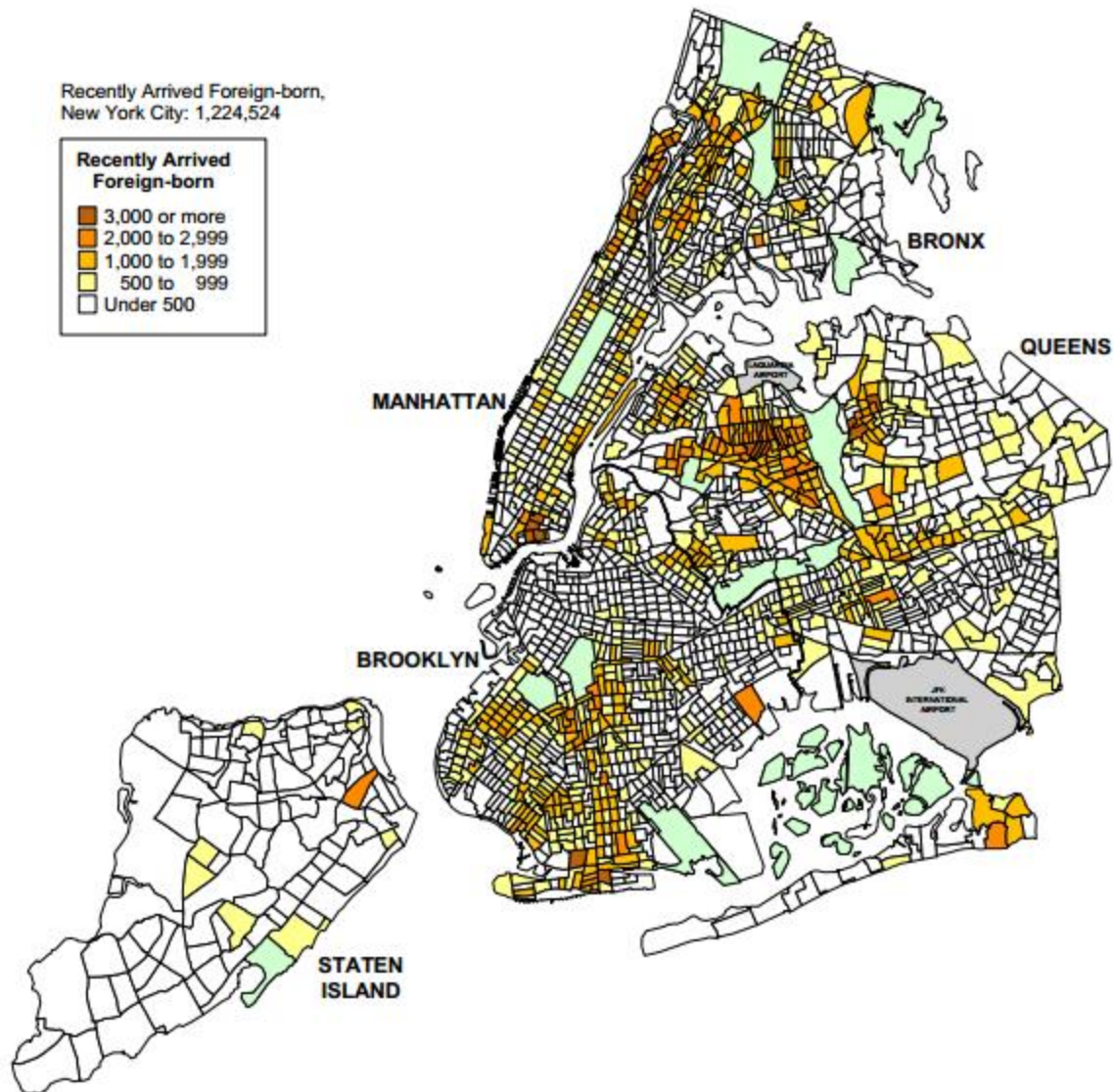


Figure 12- Distribution of Foreign-Born in New York City
(U.S. Census 2000)

The analysis chapter elaborates on where Albanians live in and around Chicago and New York, as well as the current state of Albanian-American organizations. The background in this chapter was necessary to understand the makeup of the Albanian-American community, the significance of the analysis, and the role of ethnic organizations more broadly. This chapter showed that Albanians come from many different backgrounds including geographic regions, traditions, religions, dialects, political history, migration policies, etc. Often, when Albanians

meet for the first time they will ask one another about their place of origin, partially because it reveals so much about a person's background and identity. This was evident in the history of Albanian-American settlement and the development of organizations which were heavily influenced and shaped by whichever Albanians were in the majority, immigrating at the time, or requiring the most transnational ties. The differences within the Albanian diaspora are geographical, political, and economical and can create serious divides and rifts, but are also important in creating a strong sense of belonging and place-making in the host country, especially when united under the vision of one nation and language. In order to answer the research questions about how ethnic institutions engage in place-making and how this contributes to heterolocalism, I deliberately chose my research methods in a way that allowed me to best approach the research questions. I explain these research methods in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research study is to explore settlement geography through the lens of the immigrants and their community. Public discourse on the behavior of immigrants is informed largely by a positivist—or quantitative—approach and draws upon conclusions based on characteristics such as language skills, length and location of residency, education level, socioeconomic background, and other measures that can be quantified. While many of these studies have provided insights that are useful to understand the immigrant experience, their approach can also be problematic, especially if the only approach used is reducing the immigrant experience to numbers. While it is true that under the current system of data collection through the U.S. Census, these numbers may be the best indicators of assimilation available, this does not make the quantitative approach the only "truth" worth exploring. In fact, if that were true, the assumption would be that assimilation is a one-way process of change where immigrants adjust to fit the norms of the host society. That assumption does not allow for consideration of the complexities of the adjustment process, whether that is considering the role of support networks, a two-way adjustment, or other factors. In addition, the assimilation theory often makes broad generalizations about groups of immigrants, which may not always hold true for individuals within that group. This chapter starts off with a conceptual framework that explains how the methodology aligns with the research questions at hand and concludes with a look at each research method used.

A. Conceptual Framework

Before I outline my data collection methods, I want to explain why I took the approach I did to answer my research questions and the significance of these choices. Instead of focusing on statistics, I decided to focus on qualitative methods for my research. I elaborate on the specific methods below but first, I want to point out another significant difference I chose to make with my research. One critique of settlement studies I found as I was exploring the literature was the emphasis on the individual. Of course, this may be due to the nature of the research, which uses demographic characteristics to find associations. However, the message that this sends is that individual decisions and experiences can be viewed in a vacuum, devoid of other factors. In addition, this approach has the potential to be more vulnerable to the atomistic fallacy, or the false assumption that associations at an individual level hold true at aggregated levels. To be fair, this critique is not true with all studies. Moreover, recent studies have tried to examine immigrant groups by looking at the level of the family unit. While this allows for a more holistic view of what drives certain decisions, accomplishments, and shortcomings during the immigrant experience, I still thought there was more holistic approach to take in order to understand the behaviors of immigrants, especially through a spatial lens.

To do this I had to fundamentally explore the immigrant experience from a different perspective, one that more closely resonated with immigrants themselves. Many studies on settlement focus on assimilation and integration. However, I thought it was important to not necessarily measure how a new space changes immigrants and their behaviors but rather, what and how immigrants attempt to connect to this new place. In this sense, the research focus explores how "fitting in" a new space occurs and how a sense of community is built. Underlying this type of exploration is the idea of networks, as introduced through heterolocalism. I chose to

explore the role of networks for immigrants, specifically by looking at the work of ethnic institutions.

However, this research also attempts to clarify heterolocalism. Besides the ideas of nodal and dynamic heterolocalism, this concept has not been stretched far enough to allow it to emerge as a common way to understand the sociospatial behavior of immigrants. As heterolocalism was initially introduced fifteen years ago, the main idea was that strong ethnic community ties can exist and be maintained despite the absence of spatial propinquity. Another idea was that its full development is conceivable now because of the conditions of the late 20th century. However, the theory hasn't really gone beyond the idea of maintaining social/cultural contact. Questions of frequency, inclusion/exclusion, and the makeup of the community have not been explored to their full potential. I am not suggesting that there need to be benchmarks set to define what an example of heterolocal groups is and what it is not. Instead, I think that exploring the dynamics and varieties of social networks allow for different examples of heterolocal processes—such as segmented heterolocalism—to enter the conversation. Thus, the theory of heterolocalism can be stretched to include a variety of levels at which heterolocalism is present. This exploration in effect answers one of my research questions, which is "How effective is heterolocalism in describing the sociospatial behavior of immigrant communities?" I also want to note that I think heterolocalism can be extended to apply to non-immigrant communities as well, but that is not the focus of this particular research study.

Another research question that I explore is: "How do ethnic institutions facilitate place-making and maintain a sense of community within communities?" The answer to this question will also engage the theory of heterolocalism but is meant to look at the role of institutions more broadly in order to connect the research with the prevailing literature on assimilation and place

identity. To be more thorough in the conclusions this research makes, I also wanted to explore the difference in how individuals form and use networks between cities. I elaborate more on this decision in the next section of this chapter but essentially, I chose to explore two cities in order to understand how the particularities of each city may alter networks. Many of these particularities came out during interviews through comments about the size of cities and the extent of suburbanization. However, by exploring each city's background in other aspects such as the built environment, immigration policies, and overall diversity, a fuller understanding can help clarify how much of network formation is based on the specific place and how much is based on the immigrant group itself. Specifically, I focus on Chicago and New York and explain this choice in the next section.

B. Case Study Selection

According to Audrey Singer, there are six types of immigrant gateway cities: former gateways, continuous gateways, post-WWII gateways, emerging gateways, re-emerging gateways, and pre-emerging gateways (2004). For the purposes of this research study, I focus on two continuous gateways: Chicago and New York. One of the biggest advantages of choosing these two cities is that they both, by virtue of being continuous gateways, have had similar trends in terms of immigration waves and policies. This serves as a constant that allows for exploration of other distinctions, primarily in the built environment and diversity, which may inform the way networks are formed within these spaces. One limitation in choosing two gateway cities that are both continuous is generalizability because heterolocalism might work differently in other types of gateways.

Another reason I chose these two cities was because of their sizeable Albanian populations and their accessibility for me to conduct research. Not only are the cities accessible, but because the Albanian populations in these cities have been established for a long time, it was easier to navigate the organizations and access contact information to find potential interviewees. The large communities within these cities also meant I would be able to find more diversity, both in terms of types of organizations, and experience serving different parts of the Albanian community, some which may be considered outliers. In addition, my original proposition was that these two cities would yield different responses to the predicted outcomes set forth by heterolocalism. My reasoning was that, based on my experiences, Albanians in New York seem to be far more organized and active than those in Chicago.

One of the decisions that I struggled with was whether to make this study focused on regions or cities. On one hand, there are many connections regionally between cities where Albanians have settled such as between Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan, or New York, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Connecticut. On the other hand, looking at networks at this scale would require many more participants, time, and context, which would not fit the scope of this study. Instead, I chose to focus on a city in the Midwest and a city on the East Coast. As you can see, Figures 13 and 14 below outline the distribution of the Albanian population in the United States by state (above) and by county (below).⁴

⁴ A note of caution: this data was gathered from a 5-year American Community Survey, so the population figures may not be entirely accurate, but it gives a good snapshot of the distribution.

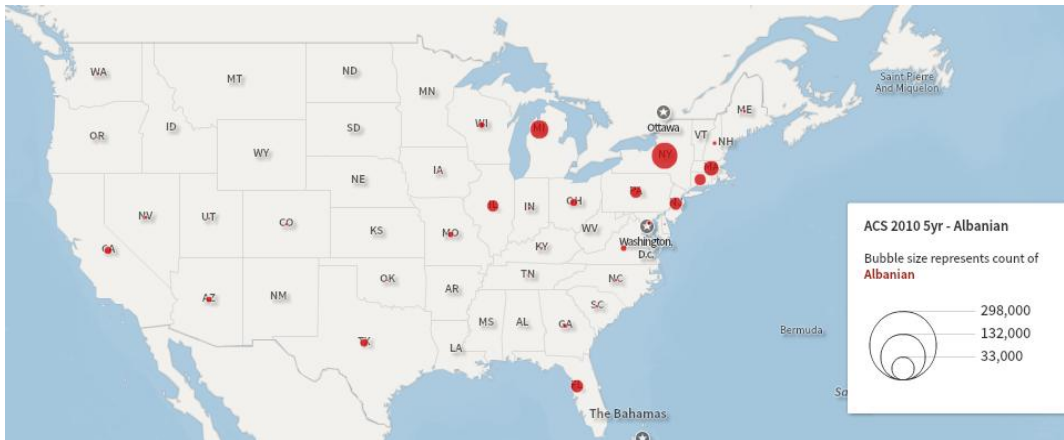


Figure 13- United States Albanian population by state (Map source: Social Explorer)

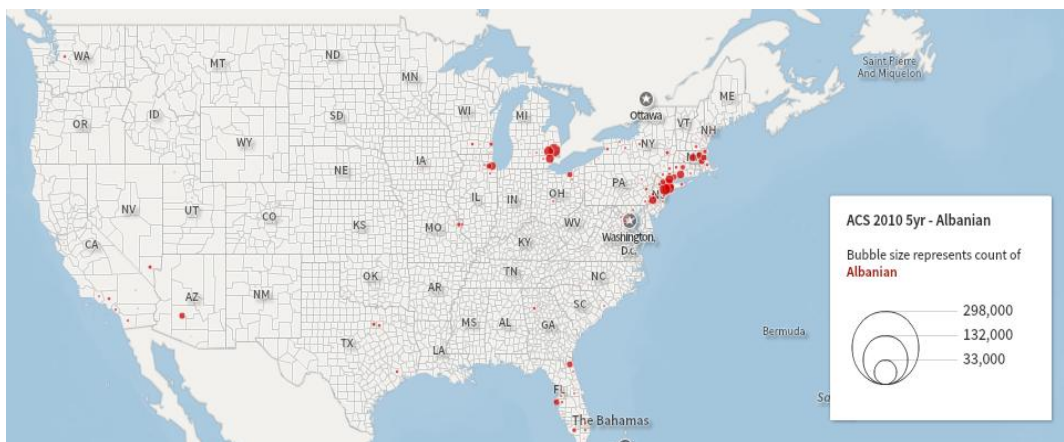


Figure 14- United States Albanian population by county (Map source: Social Explorer)

In order to get a better feel of these two cities, I spend some time explaining their immigration contexts—specifically, the broader immigrant population size, flows, and trends. Both Chicago and New York are very diverse population centers. New York started off as one of the first entry points for immigration into the United States. Often, immigrants clustered together, forming ethnic enclaves, some of which still exist today. Today, 36% of the population in New York is foreign-born (Burden and Barth 2004). While more than 1.2 million immigrants entered the city between 1990 and 2000, immigration to New York started to slow in 1997

(Acitelli 2008). Part of the reason for this decline is the tendency for immigrants to bypass the city for nearby suburbs.

This suburban phenomenon is also seen in Chicago. To add more context, Figure 15 below shows the increasing rate of suburban living for immigrants, which in 1990 surpassed the number of immigrants in the city of Chicago. As can be seen in Figures 15 and 16, the percentage of foreign-born in Chicago has grown since 1960 to 17.5% in 2000 (Paral and Norkewicz 2003).

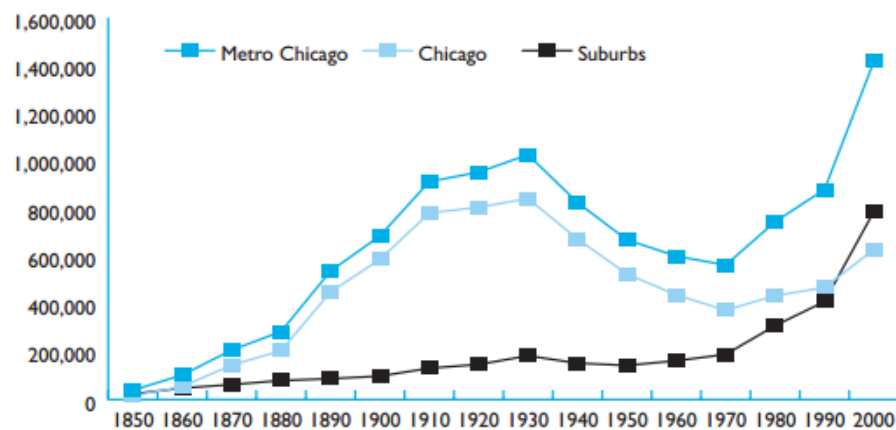


Figure 15- Number of Immigrants in Chicago and Chicagoland area (Paral and Norkewicz 2003).

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Total population	6,220,913	6,974,423	7,103,624	7,261,176	8,091,720
Foreign-born population	601,015	563,176	744,930	879,863	1,416,890
Percent of total foreign born	9.7%	8.1%	10.5%	12.1%	17.5%

Figure 16- Immigrant populations by year in Metro Chicago (Paral and Norkewicz 2003).

I focused on the overall immigrant population of Chicago and New York for this section. This is to complement the more in-depth discussion of the distribution of Albanians in these cities and their history in the United States, which can be found in the background chapter.

C. The Research Design

My research took on a variety of methodological approaches to explore the research questions at hand: interviews, participant observation, and content analysis. Before elaborating on my process for these methods, I want to take a moment to acknowledge my positionality during this research study in order to allow the reader to understand how my identities and experiences may shape my observations or influence my process for data collection and analysis.

i. Positionality

Throughout all of my research, I attempted to remain aware and reflexive about perceptions of me as both an insider and an outsider to the community. As a child of Albanian immigrants, I grew up surrounded by constant reminders of my Albanian culture, but at the same time, growing up in America detracted from a fuller understanding of my Albanian culture. This often meant that no matter how much my family tried to keep traditions alive, my experience and understanding of our culture was inherently different than someone who may have grown up in "the homeland." To add a layer of complexity, while my family identifies as ethnically Albanian, my mother is from Macedonia and my father is from Kosovo. In this research study, I am presenting narratives of the Albanian community in America but I understand that I do not and cannot speak for everyone. In addition, I tried to limit the influence of my own perspective, as an insider and outsider, during the research process.

In many ways, I felt as though I was an insider. One example includes my ability to speak Albanian while recruiting interviewees, and in a few cases conducting the interview entirely in Albanian, upon the wish of the interviewees. While I was able to use language to gain some rapport (which was especially needed for telephone interviews), I am sure there was a noticeable

difference in my use of the language that at times may have made others perceive me as an outsider. This difference includes the mixing of my "American accent," the dialect of Albanian I was raised with, and the extent to which I could use Albanian idioms and research terms. Another example of my being an insider was the success with the snowballing recruitment strategy. Many interviewees gave me contact information at the end of our interviews, which provided me an opportunity to get in touch with others in their organization or some organizations I had never heard of. For some of the interviews, I did not know the participants but they had known a member of my family, and I believe that also helped establish some level of rapport.

However, in other cases I felt as though I was an outsider. This was true in cases when interviewees may have expected me to recall a certain event or piece of history, but because of my age, the only knowledge I had was second-hand and researched. This meant that rather than being able to form my own opinion on the situation based on first-hand experience, many of my opinions were biased based on second-hand explanations. One particular example is the tensions prior to the outbreak of the war in Kosovo. While I remember attending demonstrations as a pre-teen, I was too young to experience the tensions that caused the war. My position as a female also created some amount of distance during interviews. With the exception of one interview participant, the rest were male. I cannot speak to their perceptions of the interview, but for me, I felt as though this was potentially a source of bias that could have limited the perspectives gathered for this study. For example, in many interviews, references to differences in gender were either avoided, limited, or compartmentalized as a separate part of the organization's operations. Finally, as someone who was born in the United States and did not grow up with many Albanian friends or any siblings, my family was not as involved in the community as

others. I think this experience (or lack thereof) also challenged me to understand the extent of the networks present in the Albanian-American community. Once more, even when my family actively interacted with the Albanian community in Chicago, it was usually a particular subset of the community which had shared characteristics such as religion and country of origin. Thus, this type of interaction provided me a limited view and understanding of the community as a whole growing up.

ii. Interviews

I focused my research on interviewing leaders of various Albanian-American organizations based on the focus of my research question on the role of institutions in the immigrant settlement process. Before I began interviewing, I went through Macalester College IRB approval to ensure an ethical basis for this research. As such, the interview participants will remain anonymous in this thesis. I took a purposeful sampling approach, looking at a variety of organizations to add rigor by providing a variety of perspectives. My representative sample of organizations included Albanian businesses (providing both explicitly Albanian products as well as catering to a larger audience), religious centers (Catholic, Islamic, and Orthodox), publications (TV and print), cultural organizations, political organizations, language schools, and organizations aimed at serving specific populations (such as women, the youth, and the needy). These interviews took place among organizations located in and around Chicago and New York City, as is described in the table below. To be sure, some organizations served multiple purposes. For example, many religious centers also provided language schools for Albanian youth. This is one reason that I interviewed multiple leaders from the same organization, as shown below.

	Chicago area	New York area	Total
Number of organizations represented	5	7	12
Number of interviews* *Some interviews had two representatives present.	7 (Participants 1-7)	7* (Participants 8-14)	14

Overall, I conducted 14 semi-structured interviews, split evenly between Chicago and New York.⁵ One of the reasons I used semi-structured interviews in this research study was the flexibility it allowed me to explore a variety of organizations. The semi-structured questions allowed me to tailor the questions so they were most appropriate to each of these different types of organizations. These interviews involved former and current members of each organization. I typically spoke with directors, owners, and founders or otherwise with those who are heavily involved in the organization functions. I found organizations based primarily off of web searches and looking through the Albanian Yellow Pages, a directory that includes Albanian-owned or operated businesses and organizations. Some organizations, especially in Chicago, I chose based off of my own knowledge and was able to find contacts by asking members of my family. Often, the opportunity presented itself to interview multiple people representing one organization. This was the case when snowballing occurred or if the organization had multiple functions directed by different people. Most interviews were 45-60 minutes, although in some cases they went over 60 minutes. Most interviews occurred in-person, with the exception of two that I conducted over the phone. With the in-person interviews, I made sure to allow participants to choose the meeting location. Elwood and Martin (2000) emphasize the importance in this choice, not only for comfort, but also to get a better idea of what this choice might reveal, in this case perhaps about the organization's accessibility to the community.

⁵ See Appendix for sample interview questions

After these interviews were completed, I engaged in a process of matrix coding to analyze the transcripts of the interviews (King and Horrocks 2010). This process includes an initial reading of the transcripts to highlight key points and create "descriptive" codes, a second pass through that combine multiple descriptive codes into "interpretive" codes, and a final reading to create overarching themes that tie together multiple interpretive codes. I ended up with five themes (see analysis chapter) that describe the operation of organizations and their role in the community.

As I explained earlier, I explicitly decided to focus on gathering the perspective on the Albanian-American community through organizations and the work that they did. One of the disadvantages of this approach was the exclusion of Albanians who do not associate with community organizations. A caveat is that my life experience and social networks have exposed me to these voices and helped me understand some individuals' desires not to be a part of organizations but the fact remains that these voices were not a part of my research design.

Another disadvantage of individual interviews with organization leaders was that I could not conduct focus groups or interviews with individuals who were simply members of the organization. In order to account for this, I also conducted participant observation. Still, this is a limitation when studying heterolocalism because I am understanding the role of organizations and how community ties are maintained from the perspective of those responsible for this work, rather than ordinary members of the organization. This viewpoint is valid and provides a new insight that is beneficial but I characterize it as a limitation because it is the only viewpoint.

iii. Participant Observation

While gaining the perspective of the "gatekeepers" of these organizations was insightful for the overview they provided, I still was missing the individual-level experience and impact of these organizations from the member's perspective. To check my interpretations of the interviews, I took any opportunity I could to conduct participant observation. While I was not able to do this method for all organizations, it was helpful to engage in these observations for at least a few in order to more holistically understand the environment within these organizations and the context of each city's Albanian community. Often, this served as a confirmation of accounts given in the interviews. At other times, I noticed some member behaviors, service delivery, or overall design and atmosphere of the organization, which was not mentioned in the interviews but might have been important to note, such as decorating choices that displayed national symbols or photos. The participant observations were usually brief snapshots of the organization's work during a single day for anywhere from 30-90 minutes. I mainly took notes that were brief enough so I did not stick out too much or alter others' behaviors. I often was engaged in conversation and took mental notes of overarching themes, which I recorded afterwards.

iv. Content analysis

To further triangulate the data and bring rigor to the study, I conducted content analysis. This was often the case for those organizations which had an online presence. Often this was through websites of their own, but in some cases I was able to use tools such as YouTube to further gain an understanding of the organization's functioning. The purpose of this method was to confirm or compare what I saw and was told during the interviews with the overall way the

organization presented itself online to a broader audience. It was helpful to explore content such as mission statements, staff structures, accomplishments, and photos to see what the overall message of the organization was. I was also interested to see which organizations had an online presence and which ones did not, as well as their presence in community resources such as the Albanian Yellow Pages or lack thereof. Another opportunity for content analysis came in the form of tours through archive rooms that organizations had or occasions where organization heads graciously gave me documents, books, or other literature to keep.

Summary

In this chapter, I outlined the approach of this research in order to understand how immigrants attempt to fit into the host society through the lens of a support network, primarily through the work of ethnic organizations. Through qualitative research methods such as semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and content analysis, this research focuses on two continuous immigrant gateways—Chicago and New York. This focus may limit how much my findings can be generalized because I do not consider other types of immigrant gateways. However, it was the most feasible focus given the resources available for this research. In the next chapter, I go into detail about the actual findings these methods produced.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

I based my analysis on the qualitative research method of coding in order to explore common themes that emerged among conversations with research participants. In addition, I triangulated this method and confirmed these themes with observations I conducted and content analysis that was publicly available through any publications or online presence that the institutions/organizations had. In this chapter, I focus on explaining the themes that emerged through data collected during interviews with representatives of Albanian-American organizations. I place this explanation of themes in the beginning of this chapter in order to build a foundation to understand how they interact with theories in the literature, such as assimilation and transnationalism, the constructionist approach, place identity, and heterolocalism. I briefly explain the relevance of these theories to analyzing the dynamics of the Albanian-American community. Finally, I combine the exploration of themes and the relevance of the theories into an argument showing the relevance of these findings to the research questions. This section is arguably the most important part of the chapter but I placed it last because it builds on the emerging themes. By presenting the themes first, this chapter replicates my own process of understanding how to answer the research questions and more importantly presents an argument for rethinking heterolocalism to include segmented heterolocalism, based on the observations in my case studies.

In brief, I argue that I observed components of heterolocalism within the Albanian-American community but that this theory needs to be expanded to account for segmented heterolocalism—or other factors that may also produce the sociospatial behavior described by heterolocalism. In describing my first research question, I explain how factors that shape social relationships (proximity, integration, and community cohesion) are all influencers and influenced

by the work of Albanian-American organizations. I use the second research question to build upon this role of organizations by arguing that components of heterolocalism can be seen through these observations of social relationships, but that in reality, segmented heterolocalism is a better descriptor. Specifically, the themes that emerged—changing public image, the importance of language, regionalization of community, hierarchy effect, and community space—present other factors or considerations to clarify heterolocalism, such as the frequency of and type of participation in the community. While my themes do not represent a definitive list for segmented heterolocalism, a modification is important because it makes the theory more accessible as a descriptor of immigrant communities.

A. Emerging themes

The themes that emerge in this section resulted from a matrix coding process described in the previous chapter. Before beginning this process, I wasn't sure how much overlap in opinion there would be between organizations that were so varied in their purpose and activities. However, after these interviews were transcribed and coded, there was a surprisingly large overlap in interview statements, resulting in the following themes: changing public image, the importance of language, regionalization of community, hierarchy effect, and community space. I discuss each of these and relate them to the literature review and experiences of my respondents in turn.

i. Changing public image

The first theme concerns changing public image. "Public" here means both the image presented to the broader Albanian community as well as a reference to those outside the

community. In fact, Bloemraad (2008) says that "an organization's civic presence can be measured by its visibility among the general population and mainstream media," (20) which is exactly what this theme is about. Many organizations described recent changes in structure, mission, and activities, especially when shifting their focuses to concerns within the population settled in the United States. For some organizations, their creation was predicated on political tensions in the homeland. Participant 1 described his organization's transition based on the changing situation abroad: "The orientation of the organization was mostly political because they countered the Communism that was in our area in Albania, Macedonia, Kosova, etc.... [W]hen Kosova was liberated from the Communist regime and the Milosevic regime, that's why we changed the name." In other words, many organizations were created for the purpose of retaining transnational ties and support to the homeland. This was true for many of the organizations, even if they were not political in nature. For example, Participant 4 described past efforts of his religious organization to "enlist the participation and support of the parishioners and also the children in a special way to bring needed items that have been packed up and shipped to Albania." The recent changes many organizations described were due to the changing needs of the population. Participant 6 said, "I think it's more important that we focus on what Albanians here need. Maybe a center where documents can have Albanian language on them in the United States like tax forms so people can understand and read it. That's the kind of stuff that's more important here if we want to continue and live in the United States. Now to keep looking backwards is never going to get you anywhere, you know, to keep looking back towards home." These changing needs include the transference of culture to the second generation in the United States, mainly in the form of language. Participant 5 said, "[E]ach parent has to have, in my opinion, a strategy how to keep their kids not to forget their language, their parents' homeland."

Language here is seen as a way to connect children with the homeland. Another example of needs in the United States that many organization leaders mentioned was a scholarship fund for the second generation to pursue higher education. For example, Participant 7 said, "[I] want to have a fund where we can have scholarships for Albanian students, especially from here. Enough of sending back home. When time comes, we'll do things for back home. I want to get integrated here."

However, the renewed focus on activity in the United States does not mean that transnational ties have been completely severed in the form of institutional involvement. Participant 10 described his organization's continued work abroad by saying, "One of the things I fear most is now that we've solved at least superficially Kosova because there's no Milosevic, there's no ethnic cleansing, out of the headlines but it's not finished...You cannot go from Communism to corruption and say I'm happy when the people in charge are getting richer while the people are getting poorer and the Albanian youth don't have jobs." Participant 10 re-iterated throughout the interview the need to garner attention from elected officials in the United States to aid in improving conditions in the homeland. Other organizations look at the need abroad from a humanitarian perspective. Participant 14 said, "I told [the pediatrician] we have an opportunity [through our partnership] to treat about 15 children with heart defects ... so we did do it and we were able to treat these children in Italy ... The tickets were covered one parent and a child." Thus, there are still organizations that retain strong transnational ties but there is a desire from many to change their public image by shifting focus to the Albanian population in the United States. In addition, this relates to the transnationalism literature which questions the assumption that immigrants shed their cultural identity. In fact, the heavy emphasis of transnationalism in the Albanian-American community demonstrates that despite the focus of life and organization

operations in the United States, there is still a strong sense of cultural identity and ties back to the homeland.

The theme of changing public image is not only a reference to raise awareness and improve situations abroad but also serves an internal purpose. A few participants called for a change in community norms and dynamics in the United States. For example, Participant 7 said, "Why don't you bring it to the community, take credit...Under the name of the community, it makes us sound better, sound more connected [to one another]." In this quote and throughout the interview, Participant 7 was referring to the difference between individual actions and actions in the name of community and being representative of the entire community, an idea that will be elaborated with the hierarchy effect theme. On a similar note about the difference between individual and group actions, Participant 10 said, "You have to overcome this by doing good things. And show that no, the Albanian people in general are not bad....So public relations if you are doing something good, that allows you to overcome the negative press that comes out from a few people but it tends to get into the press."

The changing the public image theme mainly touched upon the ideas of retaining political and cultural ties with the homeland. The heavy transnational emphasis in the Albanian-American community demonstrates the importance of place identity. Albanian-American institutions play a pivotal role in creating this place identity because of the nostalgia created for the homeland, through various activities such as encouraging political advocacy for the homeland. Transnationalism, as a form of international heterolocalism, and place identity, as a means to heterolocalism, are seen in the Albanian-American community in the nuanced ways this theme has demonstrated.

Overall, the changing public image theme refers to four things: the perception that organizations have not evolved and remain solely focused on political causes abroad, the perception that there are no concerns to engage or raise awareness for abroad, preserving the reputation among Albanian-Americans of organizations as active, and the awareness of Albanians as an ethnic group in the United States.

ii. The importance of language

Another theme that emerged across most interviews was language because of the importance it has in maintaining ties in everyday life. In the literature, the constructionist approach creates a framework (through two axes) for examining the changing nature of ethnic identities. One axis spans from thick identity (one that comprehensively organizes social life) to thin identity (minimal impact on social life) while the other ranges from assigned identity (ascribed by outsiders or circumstances) to asserted identity (claimed by ethnic or racial groups). The factors that cause shifts on the axes include three types of bonds: shared interests, shared institutions, and shared culture. Thus, based on the strength of these bonds, the thickness of one's ethnic identity can change. Many participants cited language as having a unifying effect on the Albanian-American community, primarily because it strengthens the three bonds, and thus provides a thick ethnic identity.

Language was mostly discussed in reference to intergenerational bonds and the concern of keeping the language active for the next generation. For example, Participant 12 described this effort when he said, "We try to keep [the school] alive and go on with this because I think it's our responsibility. Especially from us that we came from there...I'm here 44 years. That's what my obligation is to keep the culture, traditions, and the language in the young generation." Keeping

language alive after migration is very important, to the extent that it is seen as an obligation decades after migration occurred. Despite generational changes in socioeconomic status, educational attainment, and other life outcomes, language is something the community attempts to maintain as a constant among generations. However, language is not just a unifying factor between generations. As explained in the background chapter, Albanian migration to the US has seen multiple waves and multiple points of origin. Each of the communities Albanians originated from faced different histories, traditions, and struggles. However, many research participants spoke of language as consistent between Albanian communities and a uniting force that transcended differences, both abroad and in the United States. Participant 13 spoke to this point when he said, "[O]ur hopes, everything that unites us is our language. [We have] this mission to unite people." Thus the purpose of preserving language is to create a commonality within the community. Another example of the importance of language is in the example of language schools creating a sense of community. Participant 2 explained the friendships formed as a result of the schools when he said, "If they didn't have the school, they wouldn't have met each other. Not just the students but also the parents...We have become like a big family, that's why they like the school." Later in the interview, Participant 2 talked about the benefits language has not only for forming friendships with classmates but also with family and friends during visits to the homeland, as language helps improve communication. Finally, language was also seen as an important step in providing opportunities for youth in the future. Participant 12 demonstrated this by saying, "[Y]ou learn Albanian but one day these kids could go to work in Kosova and Albania and they know the language and they know the history and it's very good for them." Thus, language serves as a uniting force and a way to give youth additional skills for the future in addition to retaining their cultural heritage. Language is particularly important because by

serving as a uniting force, it is a signifier of inclusion in a social space. It also serves as a means to maintain ties within the next generation, whether that is youth going to language school or immersion in the motherland.

iii. Regionalization of community

While participants spoke of language as a uniting aspect of the community, they also talked about aspects that did the opposite. Regionalization of community refers to the tendency of the population to settle and/or form organizations based on their region of origin—whether that is a specific state (Albania, Kosova, Macedonia, Montenegro, or Çamëria) or a specific village or city. To some extent, it might seem predictable that this theme was so common based on the migration history and phases to the United States as described in the background chapter. However, what was unexpected about the frequency of use for this theme was that it was cited across the board from businesses to religious organizations, and not only cultural organizations.

The regionalization theme was unlike the religious differences seen in the community. When it came to religious diversity, different organizations were expected to exist and were embraced in a tradition of religious harmony brought over from the homeland. Participant 4 said, "I don't think that the religious divide is that pronounced....I think there is a genuine, fundamental leadership vision of tolerance. But not tolerance as we mean it in English [acceptance], but the way we mean it in Albanian [embrace] and I think it's fundamental." Similarly, Participant 5 acknowledged the significance of religion but emphasized a "nationality first" refrain as other participants had done when he said, "And I see that yes religion is a big part but on a second token, we are Albanian and when it comes to that point, religion should not be an issue to communicate with others and I'm very proud to say I think we communicate very

well." While religious differences were expected and embraced, regional differences were held to a different standard.

This is not to say that the existence of regionally focused organizations was not embraced. To be clear, I did not interview any organizations that had an explicit regional focus but I was still able to pick up on a general sentiment for the presence of regional organizations in the community during the interviews. For example, Participant 7 said, "When you create [Flag Day], it's hard to tell them not to do one...and I understand that like when you do a [wedding], you want to do it with family." Here, Participant 7 is talking about the tendency for many organizations to host their own Flag Day—or Albania's Independence Day—on or around November 28th because they are able to get more participation if people perceive it as an event attended by people they know.

Despite the understanding expressed by participants, when I asked about community cohesion and dynamics the regionalization aspect came out first through a historical basis and then through a critique of current-day organization operations. For example, Participant 12 said: "I don't say you can't exist if you have a school or organization of your own with your own people that come from that side but when come up to get a goal what we want to achieve, we need to be all together." Participant 12 is pointing out how the clustering effect of social and residential activities results in organizations that are regionally based but have the same ultimate missions and goals. In other words, these organizations organize social life into smaller regional groups that don't necessarily always communicate and/or collaborate with one another. The duplication of events is something I noticed throughout the interviews. A prime example is the creation of a scholarship fund. Many organizations had, were creating, or wanted to create a scholarship fund to increase educational opportunities for youth. However, instead of

collaborating with one another, these funds remained separate in terms of promotion and awarding and created a decentralized scholarship system for the community.

The lack of collaboration can be related to the models of incorporation presented in the literature review. The model bases the different paths of assimilation and success on three factors: the nature of immigration (voluntary or forced), endowed resources (such as human capital, savings, etc), and host country reception (through immigration and labor policies as well as ethnic community and solidarity). While all three of these factors are present throughout this analysis, perhaps the most relevant is the reception because it includes a consideration of the dynamic among co-ethnics, which is largely structured by the role of Albanian-American institutions. The lack of collaboration is related to the models of incorporation because it symbolizes a healthy, but fragmented dynamic among co-ethnics based on the duplication of activities by different organizations.

Another example of the regionalization theme in community cohesion and dynamics is the representation of these regions in the main or larger Albanian organizations. To be sure, the multiple regional organizations were not really seen as divisive at the people- and social-relationship level. To the contrary, these organizations created a closer community, since people had more than just ethnicity in common. This often allowed for more nimble organizing when it came to aiding with matters regionally, whether it was fundraising or for another reason. However, the regional division is seen at the level of organizations and particularly in terms of representation and communication. Participant 6 showed this by acknowledging the presence and need of regional organizations that are connected to a "larger hub" by saying,

[T]here are so many different Albanians from all over the place, so everyone should be organized in their own fashion. That way, when it's something important in the main community, our Albanians...should be present for that and the way to get that out would be one representative from [each state]—kind of

like a government....There are so many little sects of people that need to be represented and it's hard to do. The cohesiveness is something that needs to be worked on at a greater scale.

Overall, this theme seems to be engrained into the social consciousness of the community. It is a norm in conversation, so much so that I even noticed it in the process of doing this research. While arranging interviews and building rapport before the interviews would begin, the question of my parents' origins would inevitably come up. This wasn't unusual, as I had grown up hearing this as a part of my parents' conversations, but it was something that stood out once the participants themselves talked about this regionalization theme in terms of organization dynamics. Participant 7 pointed this observation out through the use of language when he said, "And another thing—when they say he is a Kosovar, he is Macedonian, Albanian. No. Albanians from Kosova, Albanians from Macedonia, Albanians from Albania. That's another thing I try to change because we are the same people." Just as he had pointed out, I also noticed a shift in attitude among newer generations. For example, Participant 11 said, "We don't discriminate. We're living in America and there are very few Albanians. If we start deciding oh he's from the south, he's from the north, you'd have no Albanians left over so we kind of see everyone the same." Participant 10 echoed the same sentiment, saying "[I]t's important for Albanians to understand who they are and to re-identify as a nation—not as a state Kosova, a state Albania, and then Albanians in Montenegro, Macedonia..." Thus, the regionalization of the community created a clustering effect at the level of organizations where many organizations worked together but in separated clusters based on region, producing duplication of activities and a strong regional identity. This is relevant to the argument of rethinking heterolocalism because while at a surface glance it would seem that there is a healthy dynamic within the Albanian-American community, it is important not to miss the nuance of the regional identities and the

implications this has in how individuals maintain ties to the community and how the organizations maintain ties with individuals.

iv. Hierarchy effect

The hierarchy effect is another theme where community dynamics become evident, particularly relevant to creating a sense of belonging through organizations. Essentially, the hierarchy effect is a reference to the disconnect between low membership, attendance, and/or contribution rates and the desire of the community to keep cultural values alive, which can be explained by factors such as the organization structures, missions, activities, and communication networks. The large demand to retain cultural traditions is demonstrated by the large attendance at annual gatherings such as Flag Day ceremonies, parades, and festivals cited in the interviews, as well as popularity that is causing more Albanian schools to open and see a rise in membership. This demand is also seen historically in initial places of settlement, such as Boston, for Albanians through the third generation (Nagi 1989). This disconnect does not necessarily mean that the desire to retain culture is not being met. Actually, I think that a majority of this aspect of the culture is nourished in the home whenever possible. In that sense, it is not that there is an absence of sharing cultural values or knowledge but rather that the disconnect occurs at the organization level and membership or level of participation within that structured environment. This disconnect can be largely explained by factors of changing organization missions, inaccessibility, and the operation of organizations, which I discuss in turn.

As mentioned before, many of the organizations were shifting gears to focus their mission and activities on the United States. However, for many this is a recent move and may explain membership rates that are lower than during the Kosova war or initial phases of

migration. For some organizations, this shift was actually more of a "re-birth" (Participant 13), which makes increasing membership difficult because, as Participant 7 said, "[M]aybe they don't know we exist anymore."

Another factor creating the hierarchy effect is limited accessibility. Part of the reason for limited accessibility is arguably the responsibility of organizations that choose to locate their offices or activities far away from the population's residential settlement. However, the distance can also be attributable to the large rates of dispersion—especially recently, due to suburbanization—which limit the ability of organizations to locate themselves centrally. Participant 8 explained the difficulty in accommodations when he recalls, "Older people remain here, and some can't even drive. In the beginning we offered a bus ride but there was no interest [and some were] too proud to take rides....Why take a ride half an hour or one hour or more?...People of course who have been here 30 years or more understand English too and go to an American church to feel they did their Sunday obligation."

Another type of inaccessibility comes in the form of inclusion/exclusion—whether perceived or real. Feelings of exclusion from an organization can stem from organizational structure, activities, communication networks, meeting locations, and/or other membership. This is not to say exclusion is intended or not being addressed but many participants cited examples ranging from the basis of age, gender, background (region or religion), and even socioeconomic status. These accounts will be explained next, starting with age and socioeconomic status.

Participant 11 touched on both age and socioeconomic status when he said, "Each dinner costs at least \$100 so we're all students, we couldn't afford it so we figured, let's come up with an organization ...Like the older generation when they were our age, they were doing the same thing. But as they grew older, they didn't engage the younger people after them, they just kept

going. So they left out the whole young generation so we try to keep on bringing them in." This demonstrates a sense of exclusion based on the way organizations create events.

Participant 14 touched on the aspect of gender by saying, "So all the women got together and they wanted to make a difference in the community and they wanted to do something for the children....You have to understand, we are a women's-only organization." While this is not a commentary on the membership or board structures of other organizations, this shows an attempt to fill a gap that the founders of this organization saw, just as with the age gap quote before.

Another aspect a sense of exclusion stems from is based on the region where individuals are from. Participant 8 touched on the regionalization effect mentioned earlier but this time in reference to membership when he said, "Unfortunately they are not all-inclusive...They gather people from their own region." Another reason feelings of exclusion were cited was because of the use of community centers concurrently for religious and cultural purposes. Participant 5 who said, "Along with that, since we don't have many other centers and we involve the community here, it automatically works on the other behalf as a cultural center." Participant 6 also acknowledged the resourcefulness but points to perceptions from those of other faiths when he said, "[They] feel like, 'well I don't want to go there because that's a religious place,' so they don't feel like they belong there. So them holding their meetings there is number one a mistake...I know they have a free spot there and it should be used because it helps and no one has to pay for it but in all reality that's something that keeps the community separated."

One final factor that emerged from some of these interviews but isn't always talked about is socioeconomic diversity. One example is when Participant 9 said, "You have a lot of wealthy people. Of course a lot of poor also but a lot of wealthy people. You would be surprised how much worth they have, some of them." This diversity relates to the inaccessibility that plays into

the hierarchy effect because many organizations rely on revenue from social events, advertising, and large donations—the majority of which comes from those who can give more. Participant 5 pointed out the difficulty in switching away from this way of operating when he said, "'Can you sponsor it, \$10,000, \$5,000.' Come on. I don't want that. I want five cents from you, five cents from the other. Together to make something." This is important to the disconnect between membership and organized activities because organizations' focus on involving members from one end of the socioeconomic spectrum, whether out of necessity or choice, can have the effect of burning out those members and/or preventing those lower on the socioeconomic spectrum from feeling ownership within events or the community as a whole. I use ownership to refer to a feeling that they have a stake in events or decisions in the community, as well as a sense of accountability through mechanisms such as reports that show where funding went, what progress was made, and regular updates. From my own observations during this research, there is a different feel and atmosphere between social events, where everybody for the most part pays the same admission rate, and at the organization locations where there is sometimes a vast difference in contributions.

Thus far, I have explained the disconnect causing the hierarchy effect through the changing organization mission and inaccessibility and will now move on to the final factor: organization structure and ownership. Some may argue that organizations' focus on involving some individuals more than others is based on the different levels of involvement of individuals in the first place. That may be so because organizations will continue to involve those who are both willing and able to access the organizations. However, the lack of ownership (and therefore participation) can also be explained by the organization structures. Most of these organizations—with the exception of businesses and a few others—are volunteer-run. This puts a tremendous

amount of work on those individuals and the community is grateful for their service. However, quite a few participants described lengthy tenures or involvement in the organization leadership. This in effect perpetuates the cycle and over-reliance on a few individuals instead of engaging many community members and ultimately spreading the work and ownership around. This over-reliance is also perpetuated by what some participants described as a reactionary style of funding rather than being proactive and investing in collective funds.

Participant 2 described the type of community belonging that more ownership can create when he said, "They like the atmosphere. They like the friendships....And they help the school. All the help that is needed for example someone makes food, someone washes dishes, another prepares something else." This vision can be beneficial to any type of organization. For example, Participant 6 described his decision not to focus his business completely on his Albanian culture when he said, "If you don't get enough Albanians to come and support you...it didn't seem like it was going to work for me.... [They] tried it before and you should ask [them]. They opened up 100% Albanian food and had Albanian musicians and it failed. Nobody supported [them]." In other words, based on previous examples, Participant 6 thought that the lack of widespread support from the community would not allow his business to flourish. This is a great example of how the role of organizations in place-making can be dictated by the low response from individuals in the community, creating a chicken-and-egg effect. As a quick aside, this is also an example of how place identity can form through the landscape, or in this case the business. The landscape can be used as a lens through which to understand how social relationships influence the thickness of identity such as in this case the decision not to emphasize the Albanian identity in the business' representation. In sum, the landscape has an impact on social relationships formed, particularly when considering how institutions create (or fail to create) a sense of place

identity for the community through inclusion or exclusion. Thus, this aside demonstrates an example of how a community may not be heterolocal at this local scale.

Another barrier to feeling ownership is the communication networks used by organizations. Participant 3 described their communication strategy by saying, "You get only place where only Albanian people go. We do marketing only in that place." In other words, Participant 9 and many others focused on places that Albanians frequent, which may mean that a large portion of the population is missed, especially those who have moved and dispersed out of areas seen as Albanian hubs or simply those who do not frequent places where advertising takes place. Thus, a more diverse and dynamic communication network is needed to make these organizations more accessible. Participant 9 and many other organizations also mentioned advertising in publications or events but that also has the potential to exclude those who are not already members or actively attending these gatherings. The same thing is true for email lists. Participants also referenced this problem on their own and a few called for the need for a type of census or registration of the entire community, as well as promoting more involvement in the official U.S. Census. However, this is difficult to do without a more robust organizing structure or community space, as is discussed next.

Overall, the hierarchy effect refers to a variety of factors (skewed membership, low participation, contribution rates, heavy volunteer reliance, accessibility, and feelings of exclusion), which when combined result in few very active members, a few more members who are in the know and attend social events or make donations, and the largest group, which feels disconnected to the happenings within the community.

v. Community space

As mentioned in the previous section, most of these community organizations were volunteer-run. This meant that oftentimes community leaders had day-jobs and weren't actually stationed at a physical office, or their office was their home or business. This wasn't immediately apparent, as I found this out while trying to arrange interviews. What this means for the community as a whole is that there isn't a space that is constantly open. Even places that strived to be open as often as they could did not necessarily meet extensive needs the community may have. Many talked about a community space as somewhere that was accessible and available, welcome to everyone, and that provides multiple needs (from a place to attend Albanian school to a place to navigate the health insurance maze and beyond). This section outlines the importance of community spaces: to create a more inclusive space, as a cause to unite the community, to increase the frequency of contact.

As discussed in the previous section, there is a difference in the intent versus impact of community spaces as they are currently used. Often times, the impact is that these spaces are given an association and are perceived in a certain way in the community even if that is not their intent—such as spaces that serve religious purposes or even at places of business.

Others discussed the benefit of the space as a "cause" to unite for—both on an individual basis and through organizations collaborating. Participant 10 said, "The Albanian community here is not energized anymore and we need to figure out how do we energize them. Unfortunately it's not easy to energize them as a nation," later referring to large turnouts for causes in the homeland in the 1990s. Participant 11 touched on the collaboration piece by explaining, "And so we pretty much said let's not have all these organizations set up to do the same thing unless they can do it better. Once we have a community center, we're going to all sit

at the table and say okay this organization what do they do best? The parade? Let them do the parade. This organization what do they do? Oh fundraising and this one also does fundraising? Kind of combine them so we don't keep repeating each other." In this sense, a community center could also help reduce duplication so more attention can be focused on filling any gaps in service the community would need. In addition, the community center would bring organizations together to share best practices and diversify services instead of creating splits. Participant 11 went on to explain this collaboration is possible because the work done so far to plan and fundraise for the space has been a collaborative effort.

Another reason a community center is desired is to increase the frequency of contact, and thus cohesion within the community. Participant 7 explained the infrequency by saying, "So when do the Albanians come together? [Flag day], [weddings], and funerals." Participant 11 explained how a community center increases interactions by being more far-reaching when he said, "[Y]ou have these organizations that try to do these things but then again it's very limited. But if we have a community center, like a physical place, they know where to go to.... [The elderly] can go there and there are people that speak their language and know exactly what they're looking for and they can help them with their daily life." In other words, more frequent participation is important because for the majority of community members at the bottom of the hierarchy, participation and cultural engagement are limited to a few times a year or within the home and there is not always a physical place that has a strong and common representation as an Albanian community center in all cities.

However, especially today, the creation of a community center is complicated by many factors, including dispersal of the community. This is slightly different between Chicago and New York. In Chicago, there are many surrounding suburbs and most participants cited an

increase in suburbanization since initial migration, so much so that the majority lived in the suburbs not within the city. In Chicago, this seems to have ripple effects, at least with support of Albanian businesses as Participant 6 explained,

It's not like all the Albanians came to one neighborhood and that's little Albania...For example, you go to Devon and Western—it's all Indian and Pakistani and the people, even if they don't live in those neighborhoods, they still go back to shop at those mom and pop stores to support those people because they want those products. We never had that. Either there was never enough of us to develop it or we were just never able to move into the same and find each other.

In New York, the density of the region means that even suburbs are nearby and there is a lot more back and forth travel. Participant 10 explained this behavior by giving an example: "Many of the Albanians that lived in the Bronx now live in Westchester County because they can afford to and they wanted a house...But they still own property here. A lot of them are landlords." In addition, New York's community seems to have more collaboration because there is a larger Albanian community there—some estimate a 5:1 ratio compared to Chicago. To accommodate to the larger population, New York also has more Albanian-American organizations (and businesses), many of which are national in scope and have chapters across the country.

The differences between the Albanian communities in Chicago and New York also extend to differences in place identity. As was touched upon in the background chapter, these two cities differed in their pattern of Albanian settlement, Albanian-American organization landscapes, and thus, place attachment to these landscapes. By linking space and identity to the landscape, assessing the presence of heterolocalism becomes easier. Again, the idea behind heterolocalism is that ethnic ties, and perhaps identity thickness (as explained through the constructionist approach in the literature review), can be retained and maintained by various methods such as telecommunications and visits even when spatial proximity is not a reality for

communities. This means that places that maintain social activity, such as community centers, may serve as a method to maintain the ties within ethnic communities. Thus, landscapes to a large extent shape the way heterolocal processes unfold within a community and the strong desire of so many participants to have a community space demonstrates the attempt of the Albanian-American community to embrace heterolocalism.

This section has given an overview of the themes that emerged through the coding process, which are summarized in the table below. The next section briefly recaps theories from the literature review and ties them to the Albanian-American community specifically.

Theme	Details
1. Changing public image (both to outsiders and within community)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -rooted in politics -heavy transnationalism -allows for an increase in membership -individuals vs. community efforts
2. The importance of language	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -unifying effect -strongest intergenerational link -creates opportunity for youth
3. Regionalization of community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -separating effect -creates a clustering effect of population -creates duplication of activities -need to re-identify as a nation
4. Hierarchy effect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -contradiction between desire of community to retain culture and low participation rates -can be explained by organization structures, missions, activities, and communication networks -majority of organizations are volunteer-run
5. Community space	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -the largest need expressed -intent and impact of current spaces differ and can contribute to themes 3 and 4 -lack of space serving extensive needs -complications because of dispersal of residential locations

B. Main conclusions and relevance to Research Questions

To review, the two main research questions of this project are, "How do ethnic institutions facilitate place-making and maintain a sense of community within communities?" and "Is heterolocalism effective in describing the sociospatial behavior of the Albanian communities?"

i. Research question 1: How do ethnic institutions facilitate place-making and maintain a sense of community within Albanian-American communities?

The first research question, as was touched on in the previous section, can be partially answered by focusing on social relationships. Three items that shape social relationships are proximity, integration, and community cohesion. These are all influencers and influenced by the work of ethnic institutions. By focusing on three items that shape social relationships, this question starts to shape our rethinking of heterolocalism because it goes beyond the blanket definition of "...maintain ties to the community" and instead describes the nuances of this process or how communities can be described by heterolocalism. Again, heterolocalism is used instead of diaspora because as explained in the literature review, there is a greater emphasis on mobility. The idea of mobility has a more explicit link to networks, which are the basis of proximity, integration, and community cohesion.

Proximity was touched upon earlier when describing the dispersal seen since Albanians first immigrated with events bringing the community together. If looked at from a larger scale, Albanians are spread across the United States but connected through familial ties and chapters of national organizations. Finally, proximity can be looked at through transnationalism, which is an example of how Albanians maintain close ties through humanitarian work and technology. In

other words, one answer to the first research question is that a sense of community is maintained across barriers of proximity. This serves as a basis for answering the second research question later.

Another component of answering the first question is maintaining a sense of community across barriers of integration. Integration is a process that organizations, social networks, or even the host government can help with. While the government may be more helpful with components such as structural integration, the role of ethnic institutions lies heavily within the realm of cultural integration because the institutions can provide more intimate guidance and a perspective that is more culturally competent. Bloemraad (2006) discusses this in terms of "integration" or "political incorporation" and said that organizations can concentrate community resources to help make immigrant communities "institutionally complete." This can be seen with the goals for the community center, as discussed in the emerging themes section. By having a physical place that community members can identify and make their own, services can be provided to help with the transition to living in the United States that cater to the Albanian population specifically as well as maintaining community.

Finally, institutions maintain a sense of community across barriers to community cohesion. Specifically barriers to community cohesion are understood through the regionalization theme and the hierarchy effect, both of which leave individuals within the Albanian community feeling excluded. As discussed in the emerging themes, increasing inclusivity and ownership is done by some organizations and some communities better than others but there is still work to be done as continued developments aim to construct and/or re-vision the operations of community centers in both cities.

ii. Research question 2: How effective is heterolocalism in describing the sociospatial behavior of the Albanian communities?

The first research question described how communities can be explained by heterolocalism with a nuanced account of how social ties are shaped by proximity, integration, and community cohesion. This second research question takes the investigation one step further from deciding whether heterolocalism describes the Albanian-American community to trying to explore how effective that fit is.

Zelinsky and Lee introduced heterolocalism with four unique attributes: a prompt spatial dispersion of heterolocal immigrants within the host country, separation of residence and workplace/sites of social activity, strong ethnic community ties despite absence of spatial propinquity, and time-dependent—meaning more likely to exist with the socio-economic and technological conditions of this century.

With that recap of heterolocalism, we turn to look at each city. In their paper, Zelinsky and Lee (1998) explain the third attribute of heterolocalism with the following quote:

The minority in question has been present in cities both large and small throughout the region, but almost never in numbers great enough to form residential clusters. Thanks to intense long-distance interaction via individual visits, gatherings at major social and religious occasions, and summer camps, as well as contact through older and newer modes of communication, the Southern Jewish community remains distinct and cohesive (288).

This description closely mirrors the Albanian-American community in Chicago. The Chicago community has historically been smaller than the initial places of settlement for Albanians and as mentioned by some previous quotes, never had a true concentrated center where the community clustered. There was a quick move to the suburbs once individuals found their bearings in the new country, so much so that most Albanians today live outside of Chicago proper. In fact, a few organizations and many of the receptions are held in the suburbs as opposed to the city. These

include major gatherings for social and religious occasions as well as individual visits to friends and families. However, it is important to note that the built environment is not the only factor to focus on. Throughout this research, it became obvious that many organizations were evolving and growing through collaborations with one another. In the emerging themes section, we saw that organizations' growth focused mainly on mission evolution but through my observations, it also was evident that collaborations can spur growth. In Chicago, it seemed that this process was just beginning, by which I mean organizations were just starting to figure out ways that collaborations could be strengthened and broader goals to work on collectively.

When looking at New York, the situation is slightly different. As a much earlier settlement city for Albanians (as mentioned in the history chapter), the distribution of Albanians in New York saw many adjustments both as the phases of migration changed according to state of origin and political tensions abroad as well as to the development of the city itself. Zelinsky and Lee mention the time-dependent phenomenon largely referring to the socioeconomic and technological advancements in the modern era but another related point is the development and popularization of suburbs as a much more recent phenomenon than during the time of initial settlement. Thus, it becomes difficult to assess the level of heterolocalism as the community has changed and "started over," with multiple waves of migration. On the one hand, New York very visibly displayed pockets of concentration in dense areas such as the Bronx to the point where some referred to the area as akin to a "Little Albania." However, if you look at a larger scale at the entire city and New York metro area, the community is more dispersed. As explained in response to research question one, one role of ethnic institutions in this case study has been to transcend the barrier of separation. This has been successful in New York for bringing together the dispersed parts of the community, partly because of the stability of the Albanian population

size, but mainly because of the history and organization of the ethnic institutions. There are Albanian institutions headquartered in New York that are older than the state of Albania itself and this point of pride is strong enough for the community to support and return to despite any effect of suburbanization. In addition, the diversity of Albanian organizations in New York allows them to focus, communicate, and serve niche parts of the population from youth to women to recent arrivals, establishing closer bonds with the population. This diversity also helps enable collaboration which has made the Albanian population in New York seem more active, dynamic, and proactive.

So to answer research question two, both the Chicago and New York Albanian communities can arguably fit the sociospatial behavior described by pure heterolocalism. However, the research question specifically asks about how effective this fit is and therein lies the interesting part of this analysis. This case study, as seen in the emerging themes section, has opened up many questions that can be used to support segmented heterolocalism. Some questions include:

- how frequent community interaction should be to qualify?
- how permanent or temporary involvement is?
- to what extent does exclusion or lack of participation from parts of the community counter the "maintenance of ties"?
- what level of investment and contribution to the community is necessary (if any)?
- what should the extent be of self-identification as active in the community?

The reason segmented heterolocalism is important is not to come up with a better fit of the theory to the Albanian case study. Rather, this expansion can help paint a better picture of what "maintenance of ties" looks like and can help shed light on how extensive that cohesion is at

various scales (local, regional, national, international). I do not have an answer for which factors are appropriate to include because my research did not survey or interview members or even those Albanians who were not active in the Albanian-American institutions. In addition, individuals may have many reasons for not being as involved other than concern for the community or they may express their community pride in ways separate from involvement in ethnic institutions. I also do not think that these factors should be translated into a formula for determining heterolocalism but rather be added to a spectrum of heterolocalism varieties.

As it stands in the literature currently, the two extensions of heterolocalism have been nodal and dynamic heterolocalism. Susan Hardwick's (2006) nodal heterolocalism refers to dispersal observed in residential clusters centered around locations of religious institutions and social service providers. Dynamic heterolocalism is more of a reference to second-home ownership and refers to identity that is shaped through multiple places. These extensions of heterolocalism can be related to the Albanian-American community to a certain extent—nodal heterolocalism as apparent in the New York area and dynamic heterolocalism as apparent in the first generation at a transnational scale. However, if I had tried to fit pieces of the Albanian-American case studies into nodal and dynamic heterolocalism, then I would have missed some considerations that segmented heterolocalism introduces. These factors are important to consider not only for segmented heterolocalism but also to assess whether heterolocalism is an effective avenue for place-making. In other words, by understanding which characteristics/level of membership to ethnic institutions create heterolocal communities, further analysis can be conducted to assess a correlation between the extent of heterolocalism any community might show and their place-attachment to their ethnic community as a whole.

As a final point of significance, the argument for segmented heterolocalism is important because it brings other questions into account such as, "What is the role of transnational ties in maintaining community cohesion after migration and settlement?" or, "Is heterolocalism an effective avenue for place-making?" Embedded in this question is also a concern about the changing role of transnationalism over time. While the desire for Albanians to emigrate remains high because of the poor social, economic, and political climate in the Balkans, rates of emigration have slowed considerably since the last major wave in 1999. This has implications for transnationalism because the make-up of the Albanian population abroad tips to second and third generation rather than the first generation.

However, the significance of heterolocalism can expand beyond the topic of immigration. For example, while heterolocalism may refer to the behavior of immigrants, understanding that dynamic can shed light on how to help guide immigrants through other processes such as increasing access to health care or higher education—both of which are issues constantly in the news today. The significance of segmented heterolocalism also lies in realms outside of immigrant groups all together. For example, the broader theories heterolocalism presents about interaction and cohesion can be used to assess the dynamics of other groups of people with similar characteristics—whether that is those who support a specific cause or who have had a similar experience.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

Overall, I used this research to focus on the Albanian-American communities in Chicago and New York by exploring the role of a wide variety of Albanian-American organizations. As explained in the analysis chapter, initial conclusions suggested that Albanian-American organizations created a sense of community by focusing on social relationships and are shaped by these relationships as well. Specifically, social relationships were explained through factors of proximity, integration, and community cohesion. This led into discussion of the second research question where the answer seemed to be that the sociospatial behavior described by heterolocalism can be seen in the Albanian case studies used in this research to a certain extent.

The main finding of significance comes in explaining that extent, or answering the question of how effective of a fit heterolocalism was as a descriptor for the Albanian case studies. The analysis found five themes which together help describe this effectiveness: 1) changing public image, 2) the importance of language, 3) regionalization of community, 4) hierarchy effect, and 5) community spaces. These themes are the basis of segmented heterolocalism. Segmented heterolocalism considers the frequency of interaction within the community, who interacts in the community, how permanent or temporary is this involvement, how much contribution does this involvement require from community members, and the role of self-identification versus ascribed identities for the community.

The contribution of segmented heterolocalism is that it grows heterolocalism in its scope so it can serve as an effective descriptor for various ethnic communities and their behaviors. This growth can build on previous variations such as nodal and dynamic heterolocalism. I am not advocating for unrestrained growth that would dilute the meaning of heterolocalism. Rather, segmented heterolocalism modifies the original definition of heterolocalism by adding these

considerations that incorporate more explicitly how organizations can help maintain community ties. Segmented heterolocalism also provides a more nuanced representation of individual immigrants' experiences rather than a blanket statement for a particular ethnic group. In addition, by expanding beyond pure heterolocalism, research studies can shed more light on how to provide resources for immigrant communities. Specifically, by understanding the networks within immigrants operate in and are most receptive towards, initiatives can be catered through those avenues. For example, this can happen with nation-wide initiatives such as health insurance enrollment, recurring efforts such as the U.S. Census, or initiatives that have more of a local effect such as local elections. Thus, this thesis should be read as an extension to the immigration studies and heterolocalism literatures. Really, this extension is more of a shift away from the individual-based assimilation framework and towards the network-focused heterolocalism framework.

Segmented heterolocalism can also expand heterolocalism as a descriptor of communities other than immigrant ethnic communities. This can help shed light on how different networks maintain ties and work together for collective causes or community building. To clarify, by "expanding heterolocalism" I don't mean making it a large umbrella term that would lose meaning. Rather, I mean that heterolocalism can also become a framework for non-immigrant communities and serve as one component of many to examine dynamics within those communities. The advantage of this is another tool to understand how community formation and maintenance happens in our ever-modernizing world. This is important because as our world changes, we must adapt to it and understand that adaption through more research focused on networks.

While this research is coming to an end, there is still a lot of potential for future research questions that help clarify and build on the contributions of this research. For example, one limitation that I had was geographic scope. My choice of cities and organizations were often made because they were the easiest to access both in terms of finding the organizations and especially in terms of distance. Relatedly, more time would have allowed a perhaps more diverse set of organizations and organization leaders to be interviewed. This is especially true as I underestimated how difficult it would be to set up interviews with such a diverse set of organizations. However, the largest limitation by far was the focus on interviewing organization leaders and not conducting interviews or surveys with the broader community. Of course, my research focused on interviewing organization leaders to understand the role of the organizations themselves but if more time or travel was available, this understanding would have certainly been strengthened by the additional participation of other community members and other research methodologies. This is especially true for community members who are not drawn or engaged with the community organizations. While my own life experience and social networks grant me this perspective, this is a perspective excluded in the scope of my research. In addition, the focus specifically on continuous gateway cities means that I am unsure whether my findings and conclusions would be true in other types of gateway cities, especially if my findings are the result of the long establishment of Albanian-Americans in Chicago and New York.

Other ways to strengthen this research would be to shift the focus of the research questions to a more specific component of maintaining ties. For example, future research could look at Albanian-American businesses exclusively and compare a broader set of cities to understand what it is about the different places that results in different levels of support. In addition, future research could focus on what the drivers of dispersed and clustered settlement

are, with particular focus on the different waves of migration from different states in Eastern Europe. On a similar note, other studies can compare the impact of size on the level of community cohesion as there are many pockets of Albanian settlement across the country of varying size. Another ripe area of research that became evident throughout this process is understanding the differences in community cohesion between multiple generations. A final suggestion for future research is to focus on the household level and to understand the differences in assimilation—both between house-holds and different types of assimilation such as cultural versus structural. This can help shed light on the role of organizations in the community but also may shed light on different patterns of settlement, different generational perspectives, and different locational effects of the city or ethnic population size. Overall, the commonality in most of these suggestions is that they get to the root of understanding why the different considerations mentioned above matter and how they explain heterolocal communities.

Despite all of the potential for future research this research has opened up, I want to reflect on the research itself in closing. The research experience for me personally was wonderful, not only to learn about my own community through interviews with a diverse group of organization leaders, but also to delve into a study of immigrants that goes beyond assimilation. I opened this paper up with a description of a gut feeling that using assimilation alone was incomplete, and even inappropriate. When I started this research and found myself staring at what seemed like an endless abyss of assimilation studies, I felt as though their findings were leaving out the experience my family and me have had. The critiques of these broad generalizations didn't go far enough and even when I found the theory of heterolocalism, it still had bits of generalization within it as well. The literature, criticism, and extensions of heterolocalism pale in comparison to that of assimilation but as I found my argument through the

analysis, I started to see that by emphasizing the role of ethnic institutions as a part of immigrant networks and really, the immigrant reality, heterolocalism had the ability to become a little more nuanced and personal. Heterolocalism already considered immigrants as more multi-dimensional because it highlighted aspects other than English acquisition; it would allow for the idea of not only taking a child to the library to learn English but also taking the child to a cultural school to learn their native language. My hope by presenting segmented heterolocalism is that this personalized approach in understanding the sociospatial behavior of immigrants—by emphasizing the dynamics within immigrant networks that determine the strength of their ties to the rest of the community—can be embraced in the future. Today, immigrants are far more connected in the world, and to their homeland. This is something that immigrants don't hide. They embrace it, and the literature should too. Segmented heterolocalism provides an example of how research on immigrants can be more personalized so that broad research findings don't fall prey to the atomistic fallacy, but rather resonate with the individual immigrants themselves.

APPENDIX

Semi-Structured Interview Schedule

1. Can you give me a brief history of the organization?
 - Why was the organization created? What was the need?
 - Were there any large hurdles/difficulties in the past/getting started?
 - What have been some major achievements in the past? What was their impact?
2. Tell me about your organization.
 - What is your position/role?
 - What is the vision/mission of X organization?
 - What are some current projects X is working on?/What services do you provide?
3. Tell me about who you serve.
 - Who are these projects/services intended for? (local, state, national, international? how far-reaching are the services?)
 - Who do you think actually uses services? Why do you think others don't/how do you plan on reaching your intended audience?
 - Where does this population generally live? (Close to the organization? Close to one another? Both?)
 - Do any other organizations serve similar services? Do you serve the same population? Do you collaborate with one another?
4. Tell me about the organization's impact.
 - Have you seen a noticeable change in the neighborhood/population since organization was created?
 - Has this impact changed over time, especially given the history of ____ (add an example from #1 if applicable) (try to learn if it has helped provide a constant source of maintaining ties vs fluctuating influence over time)
 - What do you think are this population's biggest concerns into the future?
 - What do you think is the biggest need for this population? What do you think it will take to meet that need?
5. Tell me about the population.
 - What is your perspective on the future of [population they serve]?
 - What do you think of the level of community cohesion for this population? Is it increasing or decreasing? What is changing that the most (ex. technology, culture, communication, population size/distance)?
 - Have you noticed an overall shift in interactions with the homeland? (increased, decreased, through different technological means?) Why/what has caused this? (specific technology, economy, politics, attitudes, assimilation to the U.S.)
 - Do you notice a difference in needs, attitudes, or cultural awareness between different generations or different immigrants (meaning wave of arrival or destination arriving from)?

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